

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Defend Virginia shipyard strike!



NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Steelworkers battle for union rights. See pages 6-7.

Employers and labor alike are sizing it up as the Battle for the South.

The strike for union recognition by shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia, is even

An editorial

more than that. Not since last winter's coal strike have working people North and South, East and West, had so much at stake.

- At a time when big business is out to cripple and destroy the labor movement, the

shipyard strikers are fighting for their right to a strong and democratic union.

- At a time when President Carter is trying to cut real wages with his 7 percent guidelines, the shipyard strikers are demanding decent pay no matter what it costs their employer.

- At a time when corporations are telling Black and women workers that affirmative-action plans are too expensive and must be scrapped, the shipyard strikers—half of whom are Black and a growing number, women—are demanding equal job rights now.

- At a time when government officials and employers are ganging up against federal

safety regulations, the shipyard strikers are demanding a union so that they can fight for safe working conditions.

Theirs is a battle that deserves the active support and solidarity of all working people.

In recent years growing numbers of workers have turned to their unions as the only organizations they can use to defend themselves against the big-business offensive on every front. The Newport News strike offers inspiring proof that the unions can organize, rally, and lead the millions of unorganized workers as well.

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REVOLT DEEPENS IN IRAN

On-the-scene reports from Tehran:
Workers discuss which way forward
Masses appeal to shah's soldiers

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...shipyard strike

Continued from front page

This fight is of special significance for steelworkers. When the workers of Newport News Shipyard voted for the United Steelworkers one year ago, it was the biggest organizing victory since the battles that consolidated the industrial unions in the 1940s.

The employers, for their part, immediately recognized the danger. A victory of this scope in the South could set off an avalanche of determined labor struggles.

Nonunion workers across the South would be inspired to take on their own bosses.

Workers everywhere would see that victories can be won.

So Tenneco, the giant oil conglomerate that owns the shipyard, refused to negotiate or recognize the Steelworkers. It proceeded to fire

For news coverage of the shipyard strike, see pages 6-7.

100 union activists. But the shipyard workers stuck it out. And when the strike deadline came at midnight January 30, they hit the bricks with chants of "It's Steelworkers time—it's freedom time."

The provocative anti-union stance of Tenneco is no aberration. Nor is it unique to the South. Tenneco is acting on behalf of all the biggest corporations in the country. Their common goal is to crush union power.

Tenneco brings enormous assets into this fight. It is the nineteenth largest industrial corporation in the United States, with profits last year of nearly half a billion dollars.

Lined up on the employers' side is the full apparatus of government: city cops, state police, the courts, federal injunctions if and when Tenneco wants them, and even the Navy.

The company hopes to isolate and divide the strikers. That accounts for the exaggerated reports of shipyard workers going to work; for the arrests of pickets and the atmosphere of intimidation with police dogs, helicopters, and other military paraphernalia.

But the potential power and strength of the labor movement—and its allies in the Black, women's, and student movements—is even greater.

The employers have organized their side with every means at their disposal.

Working people must organize ours.

Last year at this time the coal miners were

battling to save their union, the United Mine Workers.

It was said at the start that the odds were stacked against the miners—what with hefty coal stockpiles and a declining UMWA hold on production.

But the miners showed that odds can be shifted when you stand up with the labor movement behind you.

While striking miners were organizing meetings to discuss contract proposals, strike rallies, and protests, members of other unions were doing their part.

Unions passed resolutions of support. Plant gate collections and union donations of \$100 to \$1 million provided the strikers with needed funds. Car caravans took them food and clothing.

Striking miners toured union locals, reaching as many working people as they could with their side of the story.

Big-business efforts to turn public opinion against the miners fell flat. Carter's Taft-Hartley back-to-work order was laughed out of the coalfields. The working class stood united.

That is the kind of solidarity campaign needed today to defend the striking shipyard workers.

The potential for united defense of working-class interests was seen again last November—when farmers, students, Black and women's groups, and unorganized workers joined with the labor movement to slap down the "right to work" referendum in Missouri.

Critical to a campaign of solidarity with Newport News will be getting out the truth about the strike. The *Militant* pledges to do its part by continuing on-the-spot reporting from the picket lines, along with coverage of support activity across the nation.

We urge our readers to help us in this effort by distributing the *Militant* on the job, on campus, at political gatherings, and in the communities.

Support the Newport News shipyard workers!

Don't arm Thailand, aid Indochina!

The visit of Thailand's military dictator, Gen. Krangsak Charamand, to Washington in early February is a further step in the impe-

rialist drive to isolate and weaken the Vietnamese revolution.

Krangsak is the latest in a series of military dictators who have tried to drown struggles of Thailand's workers, students, and poor farmers in blood. He and Carter fear that the revolutionary impulse from the overthrow of capitalism and landlordism in southern Vietnam last year may inspire the Thai masses to follow suit.

Carter is asking Congress to provide \$30 million in arms to the Thai regime, up \$6 million from last year. These arms will be used to suppress basic human rights in Thailand. They will enable reactionary forces to continue shedding the blood of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

Krangsak's arrival coincided with a leak from "intelligence sources" that Thai ports and air space are being used to supply the remains of Pol Pot's army in northwestern Cambodia. Cambodian rebels and Vietnamese troops toppled Pol Pot's reactionary government in early January.

Krangsak's regime is also supplying arms and other assistance to rightist Laotian guerrillas who are trying to overturn the Pathet Lao government, which is allied to Vietnam.

While arming the Thai dictatorship to the teeth, Carter refuses to recognize the governments of Vietnam and Cambodia and has imposed an economic blockade on all the countries of Indochina. The people of these countries desperately need massive help to overcome the destruction wrought by U.S. bombers and occupation forces during the Indochina war.

Carter is urging other imperialist governments to follow his lead. Australia has now canceled its aid to Vietnam, and Japan and Sweden threaten to follow suit.

In the long run, U.S. backing to the Thai rulers, like earlier backing to Thieu in Vietnam and Lon Nol in Cambodia, can embroil the American people in new wars.

U.S. working people have every interest in demanding that not one penny be spent to arm the Thai rulers; that the United States grant full diplomatic recognition to the governments in Hanoi and Pnompenh; that the economic blockade against Indochina be lifted; and that the United States provide large-scale assistance to help the reconstruction of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—with no strings attached.

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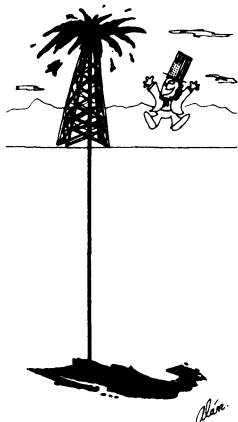
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Steel women meet

Women of United Steelworkers District 31 will hold their second annual conference February 15. A major issue will be the Brian Weber "reverse discrimination" suit, says an activist in the movement. **Page 9.**



Carter's trip to Mexico

Using threats and promises, the president will try to make sure Mexico's vast oil reserves don't go anywhere but to the U.S. **Page 18.**

Trial date set for Marroquín

At an April 3 deportation hearing in Houston, the government will seek to send Héctor Marroquín (right) back to Mexico. The former student leader faces torture, imprisonment, and death at the hands of the Mexican regime. An emergency campaign is under way to save his life. **Page 17.**



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Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone Editorial Office (212) 243-6392. Business Office (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year, outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland: £2.50 for ten issues; £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues); £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4 for ten issues, £8 for six months (twenty-four issues); £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to Intercontinental Press account) to: Intercontinental Press (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Victory for U.S. workers, too

British strikers defeat wage limit

By Steve Clark

British truck drivers have won an important battle in the war against the government's austerity squeeze.

On January 29, a big majority of the 100,000 striking drivers agreed to a 20.75 percent wage hike. That boosted them from a base pay of \$106 to \$128 for a forty-hour week.

"... the drivers' 21% will become the magic figure in future contract negotiations involving other unions," predicted the February 12 *Time* magazine. "Practically speaking, the drivers' victory was a death blow to Prime Minister James Callaghan's attempt to enforce a 5% ceiling on wage increases this year."

Not only that. The lessons of the truck drivers' victory won't be lost on the more than 4 million U.S. Teamsters, auto workers, rubber workers, electrical workers, and other unionists who are hoping to sweep aside Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines during contract bargaining this year.

Inspired by the drivers' success, workers throughout Britain are spreading the strike wave that has already shaken the country for more than a month.

- Strikes by more than 1 million low-paid public workers are continuing, involving ambulance crews, teachers, hospital employees, sanitation workers, and gravediggers. They are demanding a wage hike from their current average of \$80 a week to \$120 a week.

- Negotiations are under way with the 230,000-member National Union of Mineworkers and with 90,000 unionized electrical workers. The success of the 1974 strike by the coal miners brought down the Conservative Party government.

- Union officials representing 100,000 auto workers in thirty-six Brit-

ish Leyland plants voted February 6 to submit a strike proposal for membership approval. An eight-week strike by 57,000 Ford workers last fall punctured the 5 percent ceiling for the first time, winning a 17.5 percent wage hike.

At the root of these strikes is resistance by working people to ruling-class efforts to make them pay for the crisis of British capitalism. The employers want to prevent a further erosion of their competitive position against U.S., West European, and Japanese industry. Central to that goal is their attempt to make workers scrape by with wage hikes at little more than half the yearly inflation rate.

"For three years running, many of Britain's militant unions were persuaded to accept wage increases which they knew meant reduced real earnings," a *New York Times* editorial explained January 25.

Actually, it was not "militant unions" that were persuaded, but the conservative union officialdom. They agreed to a "social contract"—that is, wage controls—with the Labour Party government.

Under pressure from the union ranks, however, the Trade Unions Congress last year balked at Callaghan's 5 percent limit. The "social contract" began to come unstuck.

"Perhaps the most significant change is that the leaders of the British trade-union movement have lost control of their rank and file," wrote *Washington Post* columnist Hobart Rowen February 1.

"Workers... have taken things into their own hands. They are frustrated and tired of the sacrifices of the past few years. At best, British pay is low by standards of other major nations."

Just how low was revealed in a recent study by the British government itself. The study found that more than



Striker at January 22 protest of 80,000 outside Parliament (above) said: 'If we're as vital as the press says, then it's about time they pay us what we're worth.'

a quarter of the work force—7 million workers—earn less than the new minimum wage of \$140 per week.

Far from causing inflation, British workers have been its foremost victims for four years. Now they are simply trying to catch up.

Correspondent Philip Jordan of the *Manchester Guardian* interviewed several striking public workers for an article headlined: "How do they get by on £40 [\$80] a week?"

A hospital worker with four children told Jordan that she could gross about \$97 if she worked weekends, some nights, and took on an extra patient load.

"At the weekends we make do with a small chicken and I make a pie," she said.

Unmoved by millions of stories such

as these, the British government and big-business-owned press have tried to whip up a hysteria campaign against the "inhumanity" of striking hospital workers, ambulance drivers, and teachers.

Conservative Party leader Margaret Thatcher has denounced them as "callous." Callaghan has called the strikes "free collective vandalism."

On January 22, 80,000 public workers marched on Parliament to counter this smear campaign.

"If we're as vital as the press has been saying we are," one unionist told the British weekly *Socialist Challenge*, "then it's about time they started paying us what we're worth."

Meanwhile, the government expressed its concern for the needy by

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Militant names new editor, assoc. editors

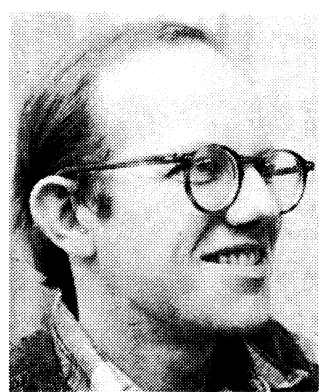
The publishers of the *Militant* have announced that Steve Clark is replacing Mary-Alice Waters as editor of the paper.

Waters, who has been the *Militant's* editor since 1971, has been selected to be the new editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Joseph Hansen, who died last month, had edited the magazine since its inception (under the name *World Outlook*) in 1963.

The *Militant* has also announced that Cindy Jaquith and Andy Rose will serve as associate editors.

Clark, who has been the *Militant's* managing editor since September 1977, joined the staff in 1975. Prior to that he served as editor of the *Young Socialist* and national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

An activist in the anti-Vietnam War movement since the mid-1960s, Clark joined the Trotskyist movement in Chicago in 1970. From 1971 to 1973 he



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
STEVE CLARK



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
CINDY JAQUITH



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
ANDY ROSE

was citywide coordinator of the Chicago Peace Action Coalition.

Clark is currently a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Jaquith, who joined the staff in 1972, left in 1976 to coordinate the SWP's

participation in the women's liberation movement. She rejoined the staff in 1977 and is currently the *Militant's* on-the-scene reporter covering the revolutionary events in Iran.

Jaquith has written extensively for the *Militant* on the unions and the

women's movement, and headed the paper's Washington, D.C., bureau in 1975. Prior to joining the staff, she was YSA national secretary.

Jaquith is a member of the SWP Political Committee.

Rose has been a *Militant* staff writer since 1973. Since that time he has written on many topics, especially on developments in the labor movement. He is author of the new pamphlet, *The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action*.

Rose's articles provided the material for a pamphlet on the fight for union democracy in the steelworkers union. Together with Nancy Cole, he also authored a pamphlet on the lessons of the 110-day coal strike last year.

Prior to joining the *Militant* staff, Rose was YSA national chairperson. He is currently a member of the SWP National Committee.

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DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS: With 'right to life' groups on the offensive, Matilde Zimmermann explains why women will never be free as long as there are restrictions on abortion.

Trotskyists urge constituent assembly*

Iranian workers discuss road forward

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—On February 5 Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini appointed Mehdi Bazargan as prime minister of his provisional government counterposed to the regime appointed by the shah.

Bazargan has been one of the central figures in the opposition National Front and served as the first chief of the National Iranian Oil Company when Mohammed Mossadegh nationalized oil in 1951.

Khomeini said that once his provisional government was fully appointed, it would call for the election of a constituent assembly, which would write a new constitution for Iran, establishing an Islamic republic. The constitution would then be put up for a vote.

The appointment of Bazargan occurred against the backdrop of continued mobilizations against the Shahpur Bakhtiar government. In these mobilizations, the demands of workers, oppressed nationalities, and women have increasingly moved to the forefront.

Bakhtiar retreats

On February 1, the Bakhtiar regime was finally forced to allow Khomeini to return to this country after fifteen years in exile. Following his arrival, the government announced that the army would allow demonstrations to proceed peacefully over the next few days.



Mass pressure forced Bakhtiar to back down and allow Khomeini's return

Both moves were retreats for Bakhtiar, a clear sign that backers of the shah, including the U.S. government, did not feel strong enough to militarily prevent Khomeini's return.

The day before Khomeini's plane touched down in Tehran, the army staged a show of force, parading several miles of tanks and truckloads of soldiers through the city.

But while the front columns shouted,

"Long live the shah," many in the rear divisions—the lowest-ranking soldiers—chanted slogans in solidarity with the people.

The next morning, Khomeini arrived. As soon as the news came over the radio, cars began honking. Everyone turned on their headlights.

The waiters in the restaurant where I was eating began arguing with the headwaiter over who would be allowed to go see the huge demonstration of greeting.

Thousands of people ran down the streets to Shah Reza Avenue, where Khomeini's procession would pass by.

Along Shah Reza, when the entourage appeared, thousands of fists shot into the air. Chants of "Khomeini welcome" and "Khomeini we are your soldiers, we are awaiting your orders" echoed up and down the street.

One million came to the rally for Khomeini at the Behesht-e-Zahra cemetery.

Many soldiers participated in the demonstrations. I saw four soldiers at one street corner during the march, each wearing a Khomeini badge on his uniform.

Since his arrival, Khomeini has continued to call the present government

and monarchy illegal. He has demanded Bakhtiar's resignation, and Bakhtiar has refused.

Illegal government

"We will try to solve the problem through nonviolent means," Khomeini said, "but if the illegal government of Bakhtiar, with the support of the Americans and British, continues to defy the will of the people and brings in forces from Israel, then we will take other measures to bring it down. . . . If the moment comes, we will get arms from the proper places."

Bakhtiar responded that if Khomeini "passed from words to action, there will be trouble." His martial law authorities have continued to carry out selective arrests of opposition figures. Roving bands of thugs, led by SAVAK (the shah's secret police), continue to attack protesters.

Meanwhile, Bazargan said he was arranging a "dialogue" between Khomeini and Bakhtiar to arrive at a compromise. Bazargan has previously suggested there might be a place for Bakhtiar in Khomeini's new cabinet.

But the most important dynamic here is the deepening political discus-

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Javadi arrested

TEHRAN—Ali Asghar Haj Sayed Javadi, a prominent intellectual, was arrested here February 5 for writing what the government calls an insulting article about the armed forces.

The article, which appeared the day before in *Etella'at*, attacked an army general.

Javadi became known in the United States through campaigns to defend his right to free speech and to travel to America, campaigns initiated by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

Here in Iran many organizations have condemned his arrest. These include the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, Iran Society in Defense of Freedom and Human Rights, Lawyers Association of Iran, Association to Defend Freedom of the Press, and the Council of Professors of Radio and Television.

The Committee to Defend Political Prisoners said: "We invite all political, social, and national groups—all people in general—to join our protest and raise their voices worldwide." —C.J.

'We are not against the American people'

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—The Iranian people are the friendliest people in the world today.

This was my experience as a socialist journalist when I went to cover demonstrations at Tehran University one day:

Tens of thousands of workers from all over the country had poured onto the campus to support a sit-in of religious leaders demanding the right of Ayatollah Khomeini to return to Iran.

The people took over the streets, marching up and down and singing revolutionary songs.

I wanted to get some good photos of the demonstration, so I got out in the middle of the street.

Immediately, a man selling cakes grabbed me and urged me to stand on top of his pickup truck so I could get the best possible shots. He and his friends got cars and buses to move out of the way so I could get a clear picture of the whole march.

When I jumped down off the truck, a young man rushed up to me, anxious to know what paper I was from. He was an Iranian student who had studied in Wales.

I said I wrote for a workers newspaper in the United States, the *Mil-*

itant. I explained that the *Militant* opposes President Carter and his support to the shah.

I also told him that oil workers in the United States have sent a resolution to the Iranian government supporting the oil workers here, demanding the release of imprisoned strike leaders, and urging the U.S. to get out of Iran's affairs.

"Yes! That's it exactly!" the student replied. "All we want here is our freedom."

"We are not against the American people," he continued. "We are just against the imperialist government. Please tell the American people the truth about our struggle."

I told him that the big-business press in the United States lies about the Iranian revolution. They claim the shah is a modernizer and the people are simply too backward to accept his reforms.

"Ahhh," he moaned, "a modernizer! The shah destroyed our agriculture here. We used to be self sufficient. Now we have to import most of our food. We want to industrialize, but we cannot do that until we get rid of imperialism."

Later that day I attended a meeting of Kurds living in Tehran. The purpose of the gathering was to discuss how

Kurds here can organize to fight for their rights to speak their own language and observe their own culture.

I explained to the organizers of the meeting that the *Militant* is read by many Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, who face problems similar to those of the Kurds in their struggle for self-determination.

Word spread that a reporter was there from "an American minority newspaper." I was welcomed by leaders of the Kurdish group.

"We very much want the American minorities to know about the situation of the Kurdish people," my translator explained. "We want them to know because we are fighting a common enemy."

Help us get out the truth

To get out the truth about the Iranian revolution and counter the lies of the big-business press, the *'Militant'* is making an extraordinary effort. We have sent associate editor Cindy Jaquith to Iran, where she is reporting firsthand on the freedom struggle of the workers and peasants.

For a paper not supported by the capitalists, this is a budget-wrenching expense. Round-trip air fare to Tehran is \$1,400. Other trip expenses have surpassed \$1,500.

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How masses seek to win shah's soldiers

Michel Rovere is on the scene in Iran as special correspondent for 'Rouge,' French sister publication of the 'Militant.' The following description of a confrontation between demonstrators and soldiers on the eve of Khomeini's return appeared in the February 2-4 issue. It has been translated for the 'Militant' by David Keil.

TEHRAN—It is Wednesday, January 31, at one in the afternoon. An extraordinary, tense silence just broke a few seconds ago throughout the whole center of the Iranian capital.

All of Shah Reza Avenue is occupied by a military convoy, which is moving toward the Mehrabad airport. Everyone at first thought it was a move by the military to keep the airport closed and prevent Khomeini's return.

The front of the column has come to a stop just beyond the intersection with Pahlavi Avenue, a hundred yards from the university, the capital's beehive of activity. Here, on Friday afternoon and Sunday, clashes with the army resulted in several dozen deaths and hundreds of wounded.

Across the whole width of the avenue, there is a face-to-face confrontation. Thousands of students, who had come to support the demonstration by 1,200 clergymen at the university mosque, bar the way to the troop-transport trucks. The trucks have their tarps off.

Thirty or forty yards away the soldiers, with the memory of the bloody shooting on Sunday fresh in their minds, hold their guns nervously. A third of the trucks carry loaded machine guns in the rear. In the middle of the convoy there are jeeps mounted with recoilless rifles, followed by a half-dozen machine-gun carriers and even two full-size tanks.

The confrontation

And then, the worst is averted. An old woman in a black *chador* [veil] advances toward the officers who are trying to clear the avenue. In her arms is a bouquet of carnations.

The commanding officer hesitates, then finally accepts the red flower offered to him. After him, the soldiers in the first rank do the same.

Then, a mullah who has come out of

the university campus organizes a corridor with the help of the mosque's monitors, allowing the troops to go through.

The first units, which have come from the police station, pass by in silence. No one forgets that this is the same spot where a general from this corps was recognized, pulled out of his car, and nearly killed Saturday afternoon.

Then come infantrymen, very young. The first slogans blend together: "The army, with us! For an Islamic republic!"

The first smiles glimmer.

A soldier accepts a pamphlet of speeches by the "great ayatollah." Soldiers even offer to pay for it.

The crowd, which had been standing in the narrow streets off Shah Reza, ready to flee, becomes more compact, more dense.

Now the trucks, which the Soviets had earlier supplied to the shah, slowly advance among several thousand students.

In front of us a man with tears in his eyes exchanges a wink with us—the open provocation is being defused.

Cheers for the air force

There is delirious cheering as the units of the air force pass by. This is the arm of the services where "the most is happening." Is it just a rumor, or is there a basis in truth?

Everywhere for a week people have been saying that a protest movement has started there, after units were asked to prepare to bomb the cities of Mashad, Qom, and Abadan. Several dozen members of the air force are said to have expressed concern.

It is believed that the officer corps canceled scheduled executions only after pilots threatened in reprisal to bomb the emergency general headquarters east of Tehran where a number of generals have been stationed since the army was placed under a state of permanent alert.

Naturally, these rumors are subject to all kinds of distortion and exaggeration. But the fact remains that the air force is cheered everywhere. The demonstrators on Shah Reza Avenue begin to chant: "Let's go ahead with the air force, the air force is with us!" The soldiers are showered with kisses.



TEHRAN, Jan. 31— Bakhtiar's display of force

Behind us, the contrast is striking. The drivers of the machine-gun carriers hardly respond to the crowd's greetings. The tank drivers pass by with their eyes straight ahead and their jaws set.

The tension diminishes again, however, with the infantry units that pass by next. Some soldiers even take up the chant "Khomeini is our great leader." Others accept buttons bearing a photo of the ayatollah offered by the demonstrators and pin them on their uniforms.

The mullah and the monitors get the route cleared after it is blocked again.

Nobody pays any attention to a soldier who waves his arms and asks the demonstrators to disperse, pointing to the end of the column.

A truck is blocked in front of the entrance to the university. Aboard it are only about six or seven men, probably non-commissioned officers.

They are livid with pent-up rage and begin to insult the crowd: "Dogs, you are going to be killed."

The drama comes to a climax in a few seconds. Three of the soldiers turn their assault rifles toward the demonstrators, snap ammunition into place, and open fire.

The crowd falls back.

It is too late. Panic seizes a whole side of the avenue.

People dive toward the side streets,

trampling each other.

Ambulance drivers, who had been on hand well before the soldiers passed by, hurry toward the victims. The demonstrators, still caught by surprise, take a few minutes to react. There are dead and wounded everywhere.

Fortunately, the murderous insanity of the last truck does not lead to a total confrontation. Such an outcome would certainly not have displeased the hardliners in the vacillating regime and would have led to a massacre, since the crowd was totally unarmed. The truck flees.

Soon the students rejoin the rest of the column, which has passed the 24th of Esfand Square. They carry placards on which accounts of the events of a few minutes earlier have been hastily written.

After more than an hour of fraternization, there is a quick and harsh return to the awful reality. In more than one truck, soldiers cry and others clench their fists.

Not one rock is thrown, which could have had irreparable results.

In a few seconds, an entire crowd has sensed how close the Iranian army, or at least a part of it, is to the breaking point.

Yesterday morning, the shah's generals, who go back to the period of the 1953 coup, finally, against all their traditions and instincts, had to allow a seventy-eight-year-old exile to return.

Arsonists turn out to be secret police agents

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—Working people in the United States have been battered with dispatch after dispatch branding the Iranian revolutionary masses as reactionary and fanatical. The shah's government tries to provide ammunition for such slanders.

A case in point was the recent destruction of a red-light district here by a mob of rampaging arsonists said to be supporters of Khomeini.

The invaders entered Shahr Now, as the walled prostitution center is called, torching night clubs and houses with molotov cocktails. Some 500 homes

were destroyed—most of them were shacks where prostitutes and very poor workers lived.

The Bakhtiar government had hoped to portray this wanton destruction as symbolic of the revolutionary movement's goal. But as crowds gathered in the area, the feeling was nearly unanimous that SAVAK agents and right-wing goons had carried out the assault.

The Iranian workers also blame SAVAK for a similar attack on a brewery here.

Ayatollah Taleghani, an influential religious leader, denounced the attack on Shahr Now as a provocation by the government.

"Although it is true that the inhabitants of Shahr Now are victims of our despotic and corrupt regime," he said, "this does not mean that they should be mistreated by our people."

There is justified hatred here for the many symbols of imperialism's grip on Iran, including the fancy clubs built for American businessmen, military personnel, and Iran's rich.

But the Iranian people feel only solidarity with those who have suffered the worst abuses from the shah's system, such as the many women forced into prostitution.



Women lead protest against Bakhtiar. Big-business media try to portray opponents of dictatorship as religious fanatics.

Marxist literature in Persian

The following Persian-language literature can be ordered through Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. \$1

The Transitional Program by Leon Trotsky. \$2

The Oppression of Women in Iran by Azar Asi, Foroogh Rad, and Evelyn Reed. \$1

On Socialist Man by Isaac Deutscher. \$1

Dynamics of World Revolution. Two documents of the international Trotskyist movement. \$4

Please include \$.50 for postage.

Shipyard strike solid

Tenneco failed Monday's test

By Omari Musa

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—More than 1,000 striking members of United Steelworkers locals 8888 and 8417 picketed shipyard gates here Monday, February 5.

The picket line at the Thirty-seventh Street gate stretched to Fiftieth Street. At the main drive-in gate another 300 strikers brought their union message to the scabs and supervisors entering the yard.

Tenneco, the owner of the Newport News Shipyard, had targeted Monday for a big "back to work" strikebreaking movement.

Company foremen and supervisors made personal phone calls over the weekend, telling production and maintenance workers to report to work Monday.

The company blitzed the news media with advertisements evoking Virginia's "right to work" laws and suggesting most workers were already returning to their jobs.

Scabs, management, and clerical personnel began entering the Sixty-eighth Street gate around 5:30 a.m., protected by Newport News cops and Virginia state police.

Helicopters equipped with searchlights hovered overhead.

The mass picket lines gave the workers' answer—solidarity for as long as it takes to win a union contract.

That didn't stop Tenneco from claiming Monday evening that 60 percent of the work force had crossed the picket lines.

The union estimates that no more than 2,000 out of the 17,500 production and maintenance workers entered the yard, officials told the *Militant*. The others going in and out of the gates were supervisors, clerks, navy personnel, and cops and security guards.

Some of the pickets charge the company sent the same cars and vans through different gates to make it appear more people were reporting to work.

Others pointed out that the company vans that entered the yard could easily have been empty.



'The police never arrest the scabs, even though they drive through the pickets at twenty-five or thirty miles an hour,' said one picketer. 'It's all against us.'

On Tuesday, pickets reported the strike was even more solid. While Tenneco continued to claim a growing number of people back at work, union representatives announced that even fewer workers crossed the picket line.

Since the strike began at midnight January 30, twenty-four steelworkers have been arrested under Virginia's so-called right-to-work laws.

One striker, Ted Peterson, was arrested February 5 for pointing his finger at a car entering the yard.

Peterson said other strikers were arrested for saying, "damn," or throwing cigarette butts on the ground.

"What has this got to do with the right to work?" he asked. "The police never arrest the scabs, even though they drive through the pickets at twenty-five or thirty miles an hour. It's all against us."

In another development, USWA Public Relations Representative Bill Edwards charged the union's telephones are tapped.

And on February 6, strike headquarters received two phone threats warning those in the office to "vacate for your own sake."

Pay line provides occasion for rally

By Omari Musa

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—A holiday mood dominated as thousands of striking shipyard workers arrived at a recreation center here February 5 to pick up their last prestrike paychecks.

But their mood changed to one of consternation as they discovered the center's gates were locked and guarded by Tenneco cops. Only a small number of strikers at a time were allowed into the park and recreation center.

"Eighty-eight, eighty-eight, on strike!" groups of steelworkers began to chant.

Some strikers told the *Militant* they believed the company was trying to provoke them by stalling the distribution of checks so that security guards and baton-toting state troopers could be unleashed against the steelworkers.

Others pointed out that during the last Christmas holidays, when all employees of the shipyard came to the same park to get their pay, things went smoothly.

The difference between then and now, they explained, is that "Tenneco is just trying to mess with us."

As time passed and the number of strikers grew, they became increasingly impatient. Those up front began pressing against the center's gates.

Amid cheers, a group of strikers began climbing over the ten-foot-high barbed-wire fence. The workers roared approval as the gates finally gave way under their pressure.

Over a bullhorn, United Steelworkers organizer Jack Hower advised the strikers to "be cool" and not be "goaded" by the delay.

Hower went on to comment on the company's figures of how many workers are crossing the picket lines.

"The only people going to work are the management, the navy, and the PSA [company union] scabs," he declared.

"That's the one thing about the PSA," Hower added. "They said they were going to scab, and they did. Of course, that's the only promise they've kept in forty years."

"That's right," responded the strikers. "Eighty-eight, eighty-eight, on strike!"

Check distribution seemed to speed up considerably after this impromptu rally.

Union solidarity warms picket duty

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Under the pressure of the United Steelworkers Local 8888 strike, Tenneco has agreed to return to negotiations with striking marine designers February 10.

The 1,200 designers, members of USWA Local 8417, have been on strike for twenty-two months to win their first union contract. They helped spark the organizing drive that brought the 17,500 production workers into the union.

"But if Tenneco is trying to split the Steelworkers apart, they'll find it won't work," a picketing designer told the *Militant*.

Strike pressure has also prompted the Fourth District Court of Appeals in Richmond to move its hearing on Tenneco's challenge to the USWA up to February 22. The court date was originally March 5.

Tenneco, with the backing of its business and political allies, has been campaigning for its right to "a day in court" to try to upset the 1978 representation election won by USWA Local 8888.

But the Steelworkers don't buy company assurances of a speedy court decision or its vows to abide by whatever the court rules.

The case could drag on indefinitely if the court decides to throw it back into

'Union 100% with them'

The February 3 *AFL-CIO News* reported that as picketing got under way in Newport News, United Steelworkers International President Lloyd McBride "pledged the full resources of the international union during the walkout."

The *News* went on to report that McBride "said that he was confident that the entire labor movement would join in supporting the Newport News workers in their struggle."

On Minnesota's Iron Range, Joe Samargia, president of USWA Local 1938 (the local that led the 138-day strike there in 1977), told the *Militant* he believes the Newport News strike is important because "they're trying to organize the South."

"The only way that I can see we're going to win it," he added, "is that there's got to be a nationwide solidarity movement by the Steelworkers."

"I would like to see the interna-

tional come out with a letter to all the locals saying this is very important, we've got to go out and do what we can to win—an appeal to Steelworkers locals all across the country.

"If each local would send some money, send letters of support—that's going to be really significant. We need to show the people down there the union is 100 percent with them."

In Baltimore, Dave Wilson, president of USWA Local 2609 at the big Sparrows Point mill, told the *Militant* that his local is in "full support" of the strikers. "We'll certainly help them in any way we can when they request it."

Messages of support and contributions can be sent to: United Steelworkers Local 8888, Bank of Newport News Building, Third Floor, 3301 Washington Avenue, Newport News, Virginia 23607.

in Newport News

the lap of the National Labor Relations Board. Even if the court does rule favorably, union officials are saying, the Steelworkers may build upon their strike momentum to win a fast, fair contract.

The strikers' ability to hold out for as long as necessary depends in part upon the support they receive from the rest of the labor movement. That is why every sign of union solidarity is cheered here on the picket lines.

Strikers are still talking about members of the International Typographical Union, who came down to the gates last week to offer their encouragement and some hot coffee.

"The newspapers may not support us," one picketer said. "But it's sure good to know that their printers do."

At the Thirty-seventh Street gate the high point came at noon February 2 when two chartered buses pulled up. Out poured more than 100 steelworkers from different parts of the state.

"They came out waving and yelling and marched with us for over an hour," a striker told the *Militant*. "You wouldn't believe how good they made us feel."

On the same day, members of the Communications Workers of America also walked the lines.

A particularly fitting show of solidarity came from a representative of the Peninsula Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. OCAW members in Chalmette, Louisiana, are striking Tenneco's refinery there over repeated safety violations.

"We're behind you 100 percent," OCAW spokesperson Ralph Ames told USWA picket captain Dominick Calautti. "We intend to ask our membership to support and sympathize with Local 8888," he added. The 130-member OCAW local will consider a resolution to support the Steelworkers strike at its next meeting.

Several other Virginia unions—including Teamsters, Auto Workers, Rubber Workers, Operating Engineers, Marine Pilots, and Seafarers—have pledged their support and are honoring the Steelworkers' picket lines.

The Norfolk Central Labor Council is also urging its union affiliates to protest the use of Peninsula police as Tenneco security guards. The police departments in both Virginia Beach

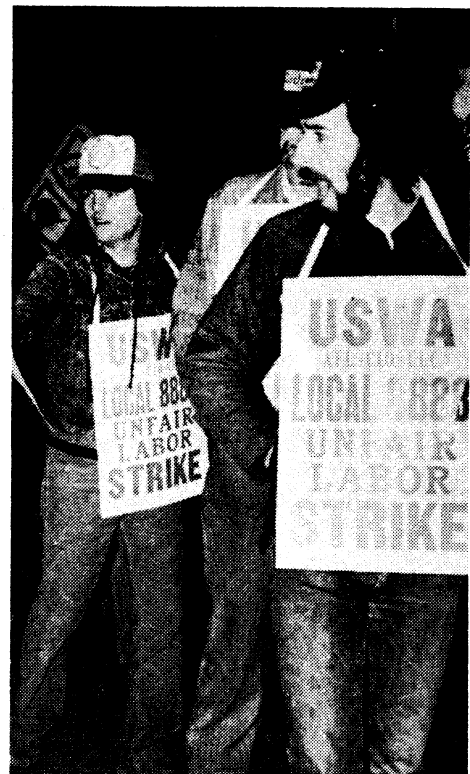
and Portsmouth have lifted their usual restrictions on after-hours moonlighting to lend Tenneco a strikebreaking hand.

"It's a strange situation to find police protecting a company that's breaking the law," Labor Council President Paul Askew said.

Tidewater students are also organizing support for the Newport News strikers. At the College of William and Mary in neighboring Williamsburg, students have formed a strike support coalition. Some twenty students attended the group's first meeting January 23 to hear USWA organizer Jack Hower explain strike issues and discuss the ways they could help.

On February 13 at 7:30 p.m., the student coalition will meet again at the campus Millington Auditorium. Steelworkers' spokesperson Bill Edwards will speak; admission will be charged in canned goods for the strikers.

"The Steelworkers are fighting for all of us, for our future as working people in Virginia," coalition member Blaine Coleman told the *Militant*. "We're eager to join forces with the labor movement and the Black community to see that they win."



'The newspapers may not support us, but it's sure good to know their printers do,' said a picketer of the solidarity shown by Typographical Union.

'Now we have a union to fight back with'

By Shelley Kramer

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The dentists and personnel offices are gone from the third floor of the Masonic Temple building here. In their place, hundreds of shipyard workers come and go, sporting the hats, jackets, buttons, and placards of United Steelworkers Local 8888.

This is the nerve center of strike operations.

To enter strike headquarters, you must be cleared by a union guard charged with screening out Tenneco spies.

Upstairs, strikers staffing the information table direct you to the appropriate committee offices—picket captains, strike benefits, food stamps, temporary employment, press.

On the first night of the strike, an impromptu press briefing is held at headquarters. The *Militant* is the only paper on hand.

Dick Hall, fifty-five years old, introduces himself as one of the union's volunteer organizers—for months the sole organizer on the third shift, he proudly adds. He reels off one story after another to show us what it's like to work for Tenneco.

"I knew a man who hadn't missed a day of work for eighteen years," he begins. "After New Year's he came to work with a cold and started spitting up blood on the job. The foreman sent him to the clinic; he spend two weeks in the hospital."

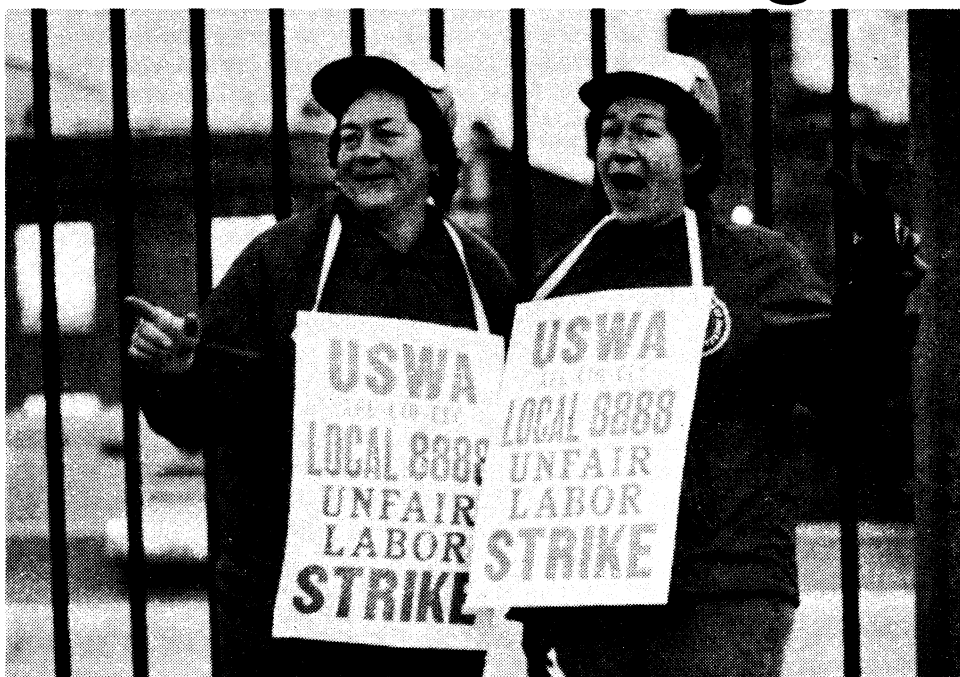
"Now this guy had six weeks' vacation time coming, but no matter. Tenneco fired him while he was still in the hospital."

* * *

Dominick Calautti, a Vietnam War veteran, belonged to the initial seven-person organizing committee that called in the USWA. Now he leads hundreds of workers in picketing the shipyard's main Thirty-seventh Street gate.

"The same people who bad-mouthed the Steelworkers' organizing drive last year bad-mouthed the miners' strike," he says. "But the majority of shipyard workers were hoping and praying that the miners would get everything they wanted to get."

He has his own proposal to counter Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. "Look, I can't support my family on what I make. The cost of living went up something like 11 percent last year;



Ann Warren and Jan Hooks. 'If a woman is qualified for a job, she should get it.'

my paycheck went up only 6.5 or 7 percent. On Tenneco wages, that comes to about forty-six cents. Maybe it's just layman shipyard thinking, but shouldn't I get a raise to keep up with the cost of living every time it goes up?"

* * *

For a firsthand account of how women fare behind the shipyard's barbed-wire fences, there's nothing like a session with the union's twins, Ann Warren and Jan Hooks. Warren is the first woman to work on a ship in the yard. Hooks is the first woman crane operator.

"I'm no bra-burner, but I believe in the Equal Rights Amendment," Warren says. "If a woman is qualified for a job, she should get it."

That hasn't been the experience of either sister at the shipyard.

"Tenneco didn't hire any women until about 1973 when the government began to pressure them," Warren explains. "It took me three years to get into the trades. The company kept wanting me to take a clerical job, even though I can't type!"

Warren pushed her way up to top mechanic's wages, filing a sex discrimination suit along the way.

Hooks had to fight the same uphill battle. "As a second-class helper, I've trained two men to work the cranes and do rigging," she says. "But when I

asked for a promotion, management refused me. They said I wasn't 'proficient!'"

* * *

Civil liberties end at Tenneco's gates. Gesturing, swearing, holding out a picket sign, even tossing a cigarette are the crimes for which pickets are arrested. Under the state's so-called right-to-work laws, such acts are all prohibited. They "intimidate" scabs, you see.

Hundreds of riot-equipped state and city police. Police dogs. Armored vans. Helicopters overhead. Tenneco photographers everywhere. This is daily fare for the steelworkers—but none of this counts as intimidation.

Carloads of scabs driven by supervisors speed out the gates, narrowly missing the pickets.

"Get this into the papers," a striker says. "These cars are trying to run us down, but the cops won't do a thing. They're Tenneco's boys."

A woman stands off on one side looking stunned. Her picket sign was bitten in half by a police dog as she tried to cross the street.

* * *

Thawing out at strike headquarters, I sit down for coffee with two Black strikers, fresh off the picket lines. About half the shipyard's work force is Black.

"Of course race discrimination is widespread in the yard," the older one says. "There's no deterrent to it—there's no union. The only time there's been any deterrent was in the 1960s when the government moved in to enforce desegregation. That's when I was promoted. Until then, only the floorsweepers were Black."

"Tenneco is just like a bully," he goes on. "Until the workers have something to fight back with, Tenneco will take advantage of us. With the Steelworkers, we have a union to fight back with. Inside the union we treat each other like brothers and sisters."

Twenty-five-year-old William Austin breaks into the conversation. "It took me two years to make second-class helper," he says. "All my supervisors were white but one. And the PSA [company union] stewards refused to help. For me, the biggest problem is job classification."

"I thought I deserved more than I was getting," he explained. "That I shouldn't have to work overtime every week just to get by. But for a long time I didn't know which way to go. I know now you have to fight for what you want. And for my small part, I'm giving all the time I have to the union."

* * *

Three young pickets and I seek refuge from the cold in the 7-11 store across from the Fiftieth Street gate. A school bus passes with children hanging out the windows. "It's Steelworkers time!" they shout, mimicking the picket's favorite chant.

For these strikers, job safety is a major concern.

"The only time Tenneco ever enforces regulations is after somebody gets hurt or killed," says one. "Before OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] comes for an inspection, they spend the week cleaning up the place until it looks real pretty. Then the workers are ordered to direct the inspectors to supervisors. Workers are not allowed to talk to OSHA."

"Some years back six workers were killed when an elevator fell on them," another recalls. "The cables hadn't been inspected for six months. With a union that cared anything about workers' safety these guys would be alive today."

New evidence in 'Weber' case

Gov't files prove discrimination at Kaiser

By Omari Musa

When the U.S. Court hears Brian Weber's "reverse discrimination" lawsuit next spring, the strongest legal argument in Weber's favor will be the claim—accepted by two lower courts—that Kaiser Aluminum never discriminated against Blacks.

Federal government files obtained by the *Militant* prove that claim to be a deliberate lie.

Kaiser's policy of racial discrimination in hiring and promotion at its Gramercy, Louisiana, plant was repeatedly cited by federal investigators. Indeed, the threat of government sanctions was one reason Kaiser agreed to establish a skilled job training program with affirmative-action provisions.

That plan—which set aside one-half of the training positions for Blacks and women—was negotiated by the United Steelworkers in the union's 1974 contract with Kaiser.

Weber, a lab technician at Kaiser Gramercy, is suing to overturn the union contract. He seeks to outlaw affirmative action as "discrimination" against him and other white males.

Kaiser's record

In January 1971 Guy McCarty of the Contract Compliance Office—the federal agency that is supposed to enforce fair employment practices by government contractors—filed a report on Kaiser Gramercy.

Kaiser had instituted a "voluntary" affirmative-action program in 1967—the year some of its Black employees in Louisiana began legal proceedings against the company for discrimination. McCarty's report stems from a review of that 1967 program.

The report criticized the "unusually slow (and unsatisfactory) pace" of Kaiser's Black hiring.

Of 246 maintenance crafts workers (such as machinist, carpenter-painter, and electrician), the report noted, *not a single one was Black*.

Of 132 officials and managers, *not a single one was Black*.

Of forty-nine professionals, *not a single one was Black*.

Blacks held only one out of eleven technician jobs and five out of thirty-two clerical jobs.

Indeed, out of Kaiser Gramercy's total work force numbering 887, only 82 were Black. They were concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled classifications—janitors and laborers in particular. The government and Kaiser both agreed that the population in the surrounding area was then 50 percent Black.

The upshot of this report was a recommendation that Kaiser "revise" its affirmative-action program in line with federal guidelines.

Empty promises

Kaiser agreed to a goal of hiring Blacks for 50 percent of all hourly openings and 20 percent of profes-



Brian Weber aims to overturn union contract and roll back affirmative action. But united action by labor, Blacks, and women can stop him and his corporate backers.

sional job classifications. No goal was set for the lily-white craft jobs.

Upon getting the federal government's seal of approval for this plan, Kaiser continued with business as usual. It had no intention whatsoever of fulfilling the agreement.

This was revealed when B.E. Thornton, another Contract Compliance Office investigator, visited the plant in January 1973.

What he found blows Brian Weber's case sky high.

Kaiser has claimed all along that the reason it has so few Black crafts workers is because prior experience was required for those jobs. (This requirement was lifted only when the Steelworkers negotiated the 1974 affirmative-action program.)

If no Blacks met the company's qualifications, Kaiser piously argued, that might show discrimination existed someplace else, but Kaiser's own hands were clean.

Thornton's 1973 report, however, found that all the workers who transferred into maintenance craft jobs were white and that "several Caucasians did not possess the required prior experience for such transfers" (emphasis added).

In other words, Kaiser was willing to waive its requirements for whites—but never for Blacks.

Violated seniority

Further proof of Kaiser's anti-Black discrimination came out in Thornton's report.

Under the company's "revised" affirmative-action program it was supposed to offer the next foreman's job in the Caustic Chlorine Department to a Black worker. This department had the largest number of Blacks at Kaiser Gramercy.

Rather than offer the promotion to a Black, Thornton discovered, "the company made three (all white) foreman [sic] in a new Coke plant. Two of these newly made foreman had no prior

Coke Plant experience and one of them was a step-up foreman in the Caustic Chlorine Department but junior to two black step-up foremen in Caustic Chlorine."

That is, Blacks with *greater* seniority were passed over in favor of whites.

Weber claims he is all for equality but that affirmative action violates merit and seniority. So where was Weber—and where were the others who now complain so loudly about "reverse discrimination"—when Kaiser flagrantly violated both merit and seniority in order to hold Blacks down?

When Weber's lawsuit came to trial Kaiser personnel officers testified under oath that the company never discriminated. In fact, they claimed Kaiser bent over backwards to seek out "qualified" Blacks.

The record proves those company witnesses lied.

Diehard racists such as Weber would have us believe discrimination against Blacks and women is a thing of the past. Now it is white males who are the victims of bias, they insist.

The example of Kaiser shows that this claim has nothing to do with reality. Discrimination against Blacks and women in employment, education, and housing is the norm, not the exception. It is in the interests of the employers to keep it that way.

That's why *quotas* are necessary. Kaiser's "voluntary" affirmative action was a fraud. The employers must be forced to begin making up for their

years of discrimination, and quotas are the only way to assure enforcement of such affirmative action.

If Kaiser was one of the "best" corporations around in hiring and promoting Blacks, what does that say about U.S. capitalism as a whole? It should tell us that affirmative-action quotas are urgently needed *throughout industry*.

The example of Kaiser also shows that Blacks and women cannot put our trust in federal agencies to win equality on the job or anywhere else. Even though Washington had all the facts about Kaiser's discrimination, it never did anything more than slap the company on the wrist.

The plan negotiated by the Steelworkers union got more Blacks into skilled jobs in one year than the federal government had managed to do in the previous decade. It was a long overdue step toward equal rights for the victims of discrimination, as well as a gain for all workers at the plant.

That affirmative-action plan began to put union power into the fight for equal rights. Now the power of labor—together with that of the Black and women's movements—needs to be mobilized to defend the plan from Weber's assault.

Kaiser vs. women

The status of women at Kaiser Gramercy received little attention in the federal government's investigations of the company.

The 1973 report by B.E. Thornton did note one aspect of Kaiser's discrimination against women. It cited the case of Betty Griffin, a clerical worker, who was fired because she was pregnant and not rehired when she reapplied a short while later.

A review of the plant's work force in October 1970 revealed that women held only 27 out of the 887 jobs at Kaiser Gramercy.

Of the twenty-seven, twenty-six were clerical jobs.

It wasn't until the skilled crafts training program was won by the Steelworkers in 1974 that women began to break into better-paid and more secure positions. —O.M.

Join anti-'Weber' protests

NEW ORLEANS: Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1560 recently joined with many other labor, Black, and women's groups in endorsing a March 4 rally against *Weber*. The transit workers are contributing 10,000 leaflets to publicize the event, organized by the New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action.

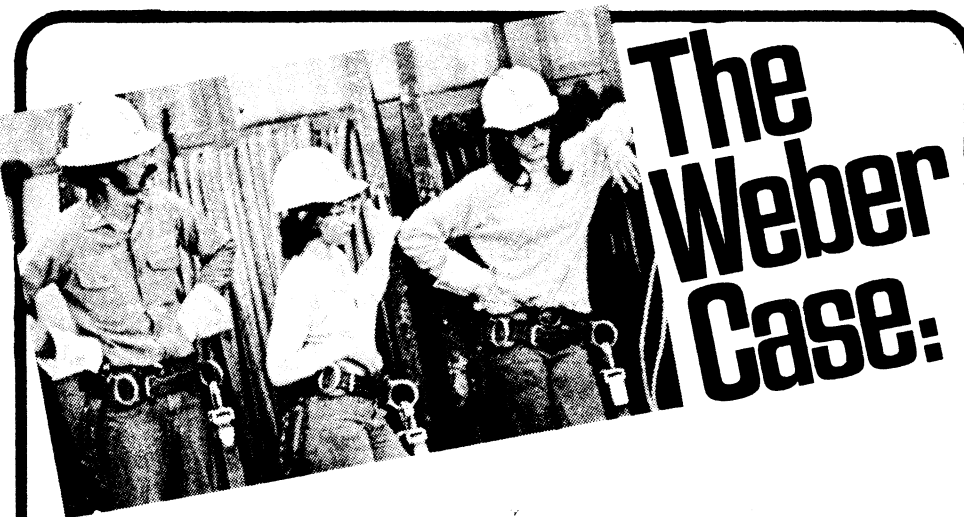
Keynote speaker at the rally will be a representative of the Steelworkers international civil rights department. The USWA subdistrict office is informing locals throughout the area and urging their participation.

CHICAGO-GARY: More than fifty steelworkers attended an anti-*Weber* meeting in Hammond, Indiana, February

4. Speakers included George Edwards, head of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, and Larry McWay, vice-president of the "40-3 Organization," a Black caucus in USWA District 31.

The meeting voted unanimously to support and publicize an open hearing on affirmative action called for March 14 by District 31 Director James Balanoff and Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher.

NEW YORK: Fifty people attended a meeting January 24 sponsored by the Affirmative Action Coordinating Center. The center has filed a court brief against *Weber* supported by sixty-four groups ranging from the Congressional Black Caucus to Teamsters for a Democratic Union.



HELP GET OUT THE TRUTH

The Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action by Militant staff writer Andy Rose presents the real story behind Weber's assault on job rights. It takes up key issues posed by the case: so-called reverse discrimination against white males, seniority, and how the labor movement can win jobs and better conditions for all.

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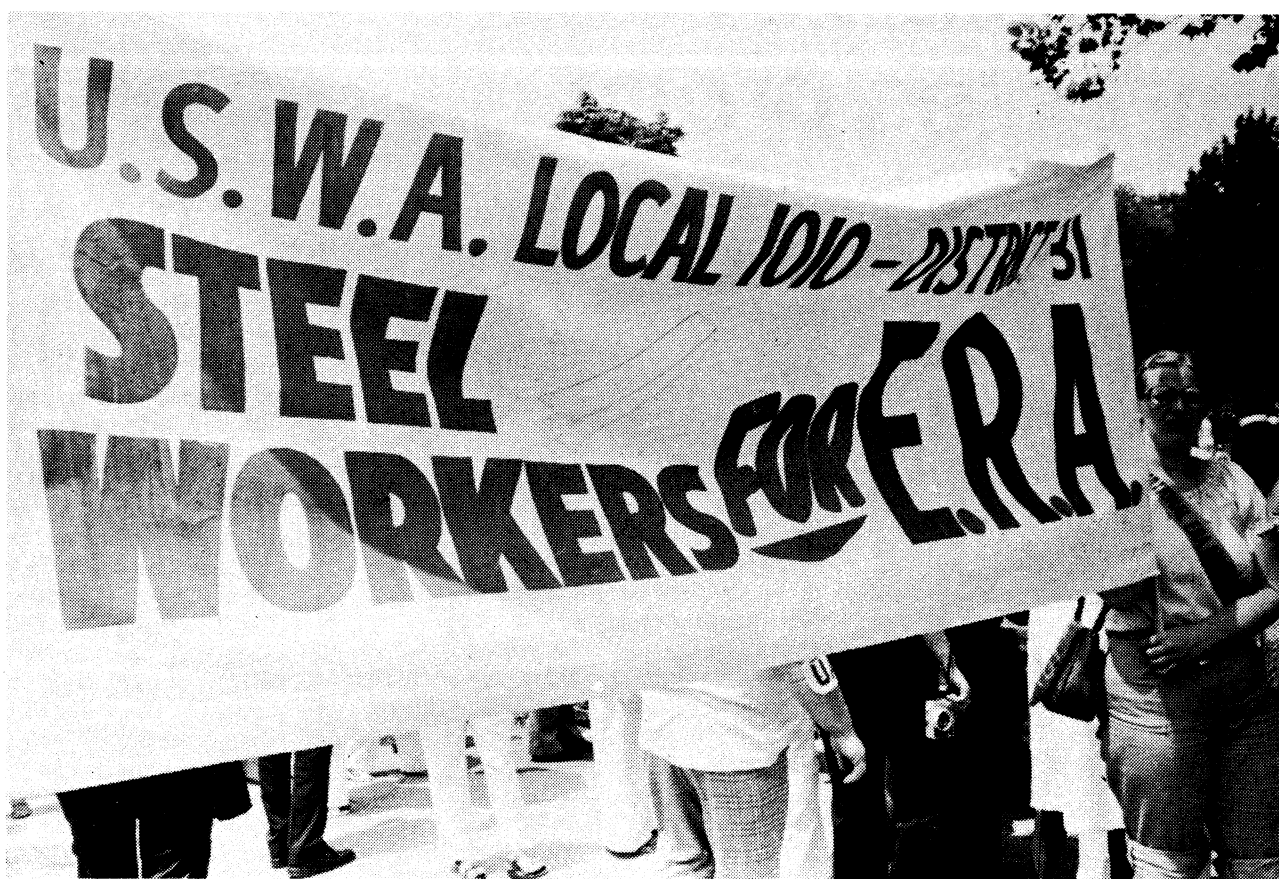
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Steel women organize

Union activist discusses USWA District 31 caucus



July 9 march on Washington (above) and work of District 31 Women's Caucus have helped change steel union's attitude toward women's issues.

By Susan Harris

CHICAGO—The second annual Women's Conference of United Steelworkers District 31 will be held here February 15. It will be a significant event not only for women steelworkers but for the entire steel union and for the women's movement.

Carolyn Jasin helped initiate the women's committee of USWA Local 1033 at Republic Steel in South Chicago. In an interview with the *Militant*, Jasin explained the conditions and events that led to the formation of the district Women's Caucus and the issues before it at its second district-wide meeting.

In April 1974, under pressure generated by the women's and Black movements, the steel companies were forced to begin hiring and upgrading the jobs of women and oppressed minorities. Under the Consent Decree agreed to by major steel companies, the USWA, and the government, 20 percent of new hires were to be women.

So for the first time in decades, large numbers of women were hired for basic steel jobs. They became laborers, electrical workers, millwrights, masons, and machinists. They faced harassment from companies that didn't want them to begin with, resentment from some male co-workers, and a union largely unwilling to fight for them.

Then in January 1977, amidst the ferment of the insurgent campaign of Ed Sadlowski for USWA president, women organized the District 31 Women's Caucus, the first of its kind in the steel mills.

"Many of the women that entered the steel mills after 1974 were young, they had children and were often the sole supporters of their families," says Jasin. "Their jobs—some of the best-paying a woman could get in Chicago—were very important to them. The discrimination they faced at every level made them angry and willing to fight."

Women's committees

The local union women's committees that the caucus spurred forward were unlike other union committees.

"Most other committees are appointed by the president, and two or three people meet among themselves and with the president, and that's it," Jasin says. "But the women's committees want women to be involved and to actively participate. Thus the meetings are advertised throughout the plant and all women are encouraged to come."

A major issue for the caucus and women's committees is the fight against the firings of women during their probationary periods. At the same time that the steel companies were forced to begin hiring women under the Consent Decree, they upped the probationary period—during which workers have no union protection—from 260 to 520 hours.

"The Women's Caucus kept getting reports of unusually large numbers of women getting fired during the 520-hour period for no reason," Jasin recalls. "The union, moreover, maintained that because this was a probationary period, nothing could be done."

"But we saw a pattern of sex discrimination. They were hiring a lot of women. But since they weren't required to keep them, they were turning

around and firing them. The struggle we successfully waged to get some of the women rehired was an important victory. It showed what we could do and how this could help others. Some men, for example, were rehired too."

But the probationary period is only the first hurdle for women steelworkers.

"If you had a problem on the job, you went to a union grievance person," Jasin says. "This person was usually a male, and you tried to explain to him that you were being unduly harassed because you were a woman—maybe you were being given harder jobs or were sexually annoyed. Chances are the grievor showed no concern. He might even try to flirt with you or make a joke about your situation. So you can see why we had to organize ourselves."

'Every step of the way'

"We had to fight every step of the way. Once in, we found that there weren't even adequate wash-room facilities or lockers. That was the attitude of the company. It didn't give a damn about your dignity on the job," she continues.

From there the struggle extended to the discrimination against pregnant workers. Women get limited or in some cases no maternity leave pay or medical benefits. They're often subject to harassment and firings.

The caucus has a multi-million-dollar lawsuit against Bethlehem Steel for pregnancy discrimination.

Last February, the first District 31 Women's Conference was held. More than 200 women attended. "This was the first time women working in steel in District 31 had gotten together in such a large group," notes Jasin. "This showed us that we were powerful and could have input into our union."

Linking up with the broader women's rights movement is an important aspect of the Women's Caucus, which has endorsed and built a number of activities outside of its on-the-job campaigns. These include a tribute to labor songwriter Florence Reece, a health and safety conference, a miners' solidarity benefit during the coal strike, and several actions in support of the Equal Rights Amendment.

"The committees have to fight to make the unions catch up and deal with the changing work force. What happens to women's rights will have a direct impact on us in the mills. We have a direct stake in the fight for the ERA."

"Unions have a lot of influence and power. If they put their weight behind the struggle for affirmative action, child care, or the ERA, it could make the difference between winning legal equality or not."

ERA support

The United Steelworkers is on record in support of the ERA. But, says Jasin, "they leave it to their lobbyists to represent the union in Springfield and Washington."

"Women got together and decided we wanted to be at the ERA support actions and we wanted the union to be represented. When we went to the local presidents and executive boards to ask them to endorse specific actions and to send women to them, some of them said it wasn't union business. Or that the company wouldn't give us time off. Or that the union wouldn't give money for a bus. We had to

pressure them, but we won on some occasions."

At last June's District 31 conference, a resolution was approved endorsing the July 9 ERA march in Washington. The district sent a bus of steelworkers to the march.

The Women's Caucus's effort around the ERA was educational for the union. "Some women got involved in the fight, and some men moved from hostility or indifference to support for the ERA. Women saw that the problems we have at Republic or South Works are problems that others share and that we can work to solve together with the women's movement."

Jasin sees important changes in the union's attitude toward women's issues, and she attributes a large part of this to the work of the Women's Caucus and committees and the impact of July 9.

"Women are seen more as a force in society and in the union. We cannot be taken lightly."

It has been reflected in union money allocated for women's committee activities and by articles on the July 9 march in both the national and local union papers.

Women's demands

"I see another change," Jasin goes on. "During the 1976 election for local union officers, nothing in any of the candidates' literature was addressed to women's issues. But in last fall's election for delegate to the USWA convention, many of the locals in the district had demands directly related to women. These included demands for a women's affairs department, for maintaining and strengthening the Consent Decree for women and Blacks, and for sick-pay coverage for women on maternity leave."

At the upcoming Women's Conference February 15, Jasin believes one of the most important issues will be defense of affirmative action. "Brian Weber's 'reverse discrimination' lawsuit now before the Supreme Court threatens everything the Women's Caucus stands for," she says. The caucus has filed a brief with the Supreme Court against Weber's case.

"It is imperative that the Women's Caucus together with the union as a whole go on a major educational campaign to alert our membership to the stakes in this case. We need more and stronger plans like the one at Kaiser Aluminum, which Weber is challenging."

"There's another affirmative-action issue," Jasin adds. "The 1974 Consent Decree is due to expire in April. Has it been implemented? We don't really know because the companies refuse to make the statistics available. Through the Freedom of Information Act I got the official government statistics on the plant where I work. According to those records, Republic Steel has consistently failed to meet the goals set out in the decree."

"The union should be demanding the records for every mill in the country. And we should immediately begin the fight to extend and strengthen the Consent Decree."

Abortion rights and the ERA should also be important issues at the Women's Conference, says Jasin. "The women's movement played a big role in women getting into industry. Now our efforts to get our unions involved in supporting women's issues can strengthen the women's movement and help to win all women our long-overdue rights."

Socialist hits Cleve. electric rate hike

By Morris Starsky

CLEVELAND—Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, has denounced demands by the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company (CEI) for yet another rate increase.

"Since 1969 CEI has jacked up the cost of electricity 124 percent to residential users," Ntweng said. "Now they want another 12 percent increase, to add \$67 million a year to their profits."

"This money extorted from working people goes to subsidize electricity rates to giant corporations, as well as to line the pockets of the bankers who own CEI."

In a statement prepared for a February 9 public hearing by the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio (PUCO), Ntweng called for rejection of the rate hike.

He also said that the Democratic and Republican parties bear the responsibility for utility price-gouging, with phony "regulation" by PUCO as cover (see box).

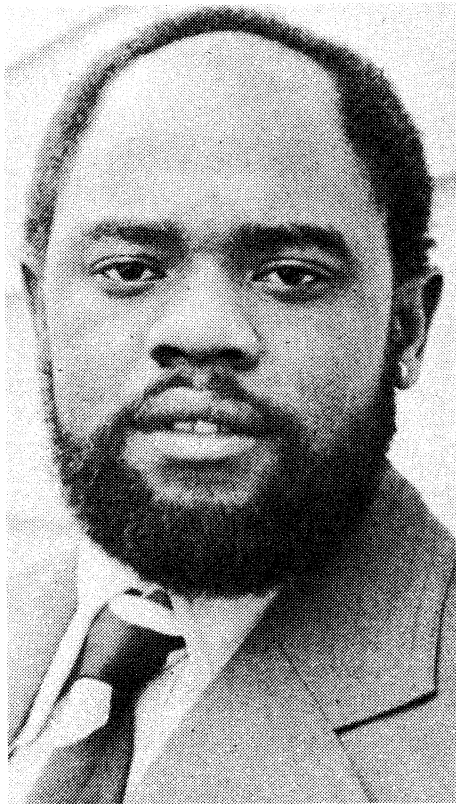
"PUCO is not set up to protect the public," Ntweng charged. "It exists to guarantee high profits for CEI and other so-called public utilities."

The socialist candidate pointed out that the Cleveland City Council also has the legal right to veto CEI rate increases in the city, a power the Democrats and Republicans have refused to exercise.

"If the city council fails to block this increase," he said, "it should be absolutely clear whose side they are on."

Ntweng said that electricity rate increases are part of an overall assault on the living standards of Cleveland workers, an assault led by the Democratic city administration.

Mayor Dennis Kucinich has threatened to lay off thousands of city workers and cut vital social services. He is trying to ram through a 50 percent increase in the city payroll tax, a regressive tax that falls only on working people.



Militant/Jeff Powers

THABO NTWENG: Vote 'no' on tax increase; don't vote on sham issue of Muny Light.

"Kucinich is carrying out exactly the program the banks want," Ntweng declared. "In order to guarantee a fat return on their bond holdings, the banks want the city to take more from workers in taxes, while giving us less in services."

"To better carry out his antilabor program, Kucinich has posed as a crusader against the banks and CEI. His demagoguery centers on the phony issue of 'saving' Muny Light."

Muny Light is a small, municipally owned company. It produces no electricity, but buys about 2.7 percent of CEI's output and sells it at a slightly lower rate.

Kucinich pretends that if the city hangs onto Muny Light instead of

How utility ripoff works

CLEVELAND—Cleveland Electric Illuminating (CEI) is called a "public utility," but the name is deliberately misleading.

It is a private corporation. Major stockholders include Cleveland Trust, Philadelphia's Girard Trust, Mellon National Bank, and Morgan Guaranty Trust.

CEI is supposedly regulated by the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio (PUCO). But under Ohio's law, PUCO's real function is to *guarantee* CEI an annual "fair" profit of 10.33 percent of the value of CEI's productive property.

The value of the property is set at what CEI says it would cost to replace it. Thus, CEI actually benefits from inflation.

Once CEI calculates the profits to which it is "entitled," it figures its actual profits. If its profits are below

the legal minimum, then the company goes to PUCO for a rate increase.

In figuring its profit rate, CEI is allowed to deduct all sorts of "operating expenses" from its gross income. PUCO allows CEI to include as "operating expenses" such items as advertising, attorneys and expert witness fees, taxes, and charities.

Some of the "charities" were recently exposed as religious-sponsored, right-wing "free enterprise" colleges in several states.

Last year, CEI netted a cozy \$90 million in profits. But the banks and other big stockholders aren't satisfied. They want a 15 percent return on their investment.

That means they are after a 38 percent increase over last year's profits. —M.S.

selling it to CEI, electric rates can be kept down.

"The truth is that whether Muny Light is sold or not will make no difference in the cost of electricity," Ntweng explained. "CEI sells *thirty-six times* as much electricity as 'puny Muny.' As long as state agencies guarantee CEI's profits, prices will continue to soar."

The payroll tax increase and sale of Muny Light are up for referendum vote in Cleveland February 27. Ntweng is campaigning for a vote against the tax hike.

"Let the corporations pay," he said. "They make huge profits at our expense every day."

The Socialist Workers Party is urging people not to cast a vote on the Muny Light part of the referendum.

"Pass it by, because it's a sham

issue," Ntweng said.

Ntweng has called for a conference of labor to discuss the Cleveland crisis.

"The problem of high electricity costs would be on the agenda of such a conference," the socialist candidate explained.

"A conference of labor, Black, and community groups would mount a campaign to pry open the books of all the utilities. Then we could learn the truth about their profits and hidden ripoffs of consumers."

"A conference of labor could also launch a campaign to force PUCO to lower residential electric rates, instead of having working people subsidize electric use by industry," Ntweng said.

"This could be the beginning of a nationwide drive to nationalize the entire energy industry under the control of the people who work in it."

Why Carter can play Peking against Moscow

By David Frankel

The dwindling diehards who are still trying to convince people that the Chinese regime is revolutionary haven't had their job made any easier by Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit to the United States.

Attacking the Ethiopian and Iranian revolutions as examples of Soviet aggression, Teng told *Time* magazine, "I very much approve" of the views expressed by 178 retired generals and admirals in a recent open letter.

These Dr. Strangeloves, not satisfied with Carter's \$135.5 billion military budget, demanded even more spending for arms. They also urged



TENG AND BREZHNEV: Accuse each other, instead of opposing real threat to peace—U.S. imperialism.

As I see it

Carter to "reinforce Israel's military capability" as a means of opposing the spread of revolution in the Middle East.

Appealing to the American ruling class for a military and political alliance against Moscow, Teng asserted that "the true hotbed of war is the Soviet Union, not the U.S."

With his endorsement of the Pentagon's doomsday weaponry, and his opposition to the revolutionary struggle shaking Iran, Teng has made clearer than ever what the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party have been saying all along:

The Stalinist regime in China offers no way forward for the workers of the world. It is willing to sacrifice the interests of the oppressed and oppose their struggles in hopes of securing diplo-

matic and economic advantages from imperialism.

This narrow, China-above-all policy is the very opposite of revolutionary internationalism. Moreover, it is *opposed to the real needs and interests of the Chinese people*. None of the gains of the Chinese revolution will ever be secure so long as the American ruling class, with its nuclear arsenal, remains in power.

For China, as for the rest of the world, peace and progress cannot be ensured by deals with imperialism. That can be done only by the extension of the socialist revolution throughout the semicolonial world and especially to the advanced capitalist countries—above all the United States.

Teng's visit, of course, has drawn an angry response from the Kremlin. But on the most fundamental level, *there is no difference at all between the policies followed by Moscow and*

Peking. Both regimes seek an alliance with American imperialism. Both regimes see it as in their interests to collaborate with imperialism in trying to prevent the extension of the socialist revolution.

Following Moscow's cue, the *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party, ran a front-page editorial January 30 that repeatedly compared China to Hitler's Germany.

"Teng's war cry is the most blatant since Goebbels cried hysterically for war against the Soviet Union, four decades ago, on behalf of the fascist Axis," says the *Daily World*.

The "most blatant war cry?" What about the U.S. invasion of Korea? The Vietnam War? The Bay of Pigs invasion? The repeated nuclear confrontations provoked by Washington since the end of World War II?

The CP's only answer to Teng's charge that the Soviet Union is "the true hotbed of war" is to say, "No, China is." The real warmakers—the White House and Pentagon—are let off the hook.

Instead of appealing to the government and people of China for a united front against American imperialism, the Kremlin's appeal is to the U.S. ruling class.

"Teng's stand and the ruling clique for whom he speaks are a threat to the United States, to all Americans, and to world peace," declares the *Daily World* editorial.

It concludes: "Teng's incitement to war must be repudiated by the government and people of our country." What actually needs to be repudiated, however, is Moscow and Peking's suicidal policy of collaboration with the greatest *real* threat to world peace—U.S. imperialism.

N.M. strikers reject 7% 'starvation' plan

By Eileen Berlow

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—The biggest concentration of manufacturing workers in the state voted January 31 to strike the General Telephone and Electronic Lenkurt plant here.

Members of Local 2112 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers overruled the union leadership's proposal to continue working without a contract.

After four months of negotiations, including a one-month extension beyond the contract deadline, GTE made what it described as a "particularly generous offer."

But GTE workers didn't appreciate the company's brand of generosity. Out of the 1,300 who met to consider the company offer, not one worker proposed that the union accept it.

The company's proposal was well within President Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. In addition, it offered little or nothing to solve the hundreds of union grievances over job classifications. Nor did it meet any demands on sick leave and seniority.

More than a month before, the union had declared in an official notice:

"We want all members to get prepared for an economic package offered by the Billion Dollar Corporation that

consists of a 7% (or less) wage increase, with NO dental package, NO paid sick leave, NO benefit increases at ALL! . . . The company's reasoning will be the possible loss of jobs here at Lenkurt."

At the union meeting, IBEW international representative Orville Tate explained that GTE has federal contracts, and that the company adamantly refuses to exceed the guidelines because it will lose those contracts.

But the membership refused to accept Carter's and the company's blackmail. Union activist Chris Driscoll was applauded when he said that the guidelines would have to be tested. "Someone has to draw the line—it's got to be us. If we do, we will get the support of labor unions throughout the city and state."

There were two ways to vote at the meeting: to reject the contract but keep working while talks continue or to strike immediately. The negotiating committee unanimously recommended to continue working.

By a two-to-one margin the angry response came: No contract, no work, strike now!

After the meeting, picket lines were set up with strikers carrying signs saying: "10% inflation & 7% wage increase = starvation," "No contract, No work," and "Human needs before profits."

Eileen Berlow is a member of Local 2112 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.



GTE Lenkurt workers voted: No contract, no work, strike now! Militant/Lysle Gordon

Paper giants press drive against independent union

By Mike Downs

SEATTLE—More than 15,000 members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers are continuing their strike on the West Coast.

Two locals—in Steilacoom, Washington, and West Antioch, California—voted to accept contract offers January 29.

The paper industry is hoping that the Steilacoom settlement with Boise Cascade will start a back-to-work movement because that AWPPW local had been out the longest—since July 7.

Since it broke away from the two other AFL-CIO paper worker unions in 1964, the AWPPW has won for its members 24 percent more in wages and benefits than other paper workers nationally.

Now this independent union is facing the wrath of the paper industry. Last summer nine union locals settled with two-year contracts. Four were AWPPW locals and five were the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU), the merged AFL-CIO affiliate.

The settlements included a 10.75 percent wage increase the first year and 10.5 percent the second. They also increased pensions significantly.

But the other companies bargaining with the AWPPW have refused to offer

the same contracts to the striking locals. Crown Zellerbach, for instance, signed earlier with a UPIU local but will not agree to the very same contract for its eleven AWPPW locals.

The strike is against such giant companies as Weyerhaeuser, Crown Zellerbach, Boise Cascade, Louisiana-Pacific, Scott Paper, and Georgia-Pacific. They are all on the Fortune 500 list of the largest industrial corporations in the country.

The strikers have won support from many individual union locals, particularly in the small towns. The International Woodworkers have honored roving AWPPW picket lines, shutting down lumber mills and logging operations in some areas.

Some locals of the United Paperworkers have given financial support. The teachers unions in Tacoma and Everett, Washington—who went through strikes last fall—have donated money to the strikers.

Locals of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have pitched in. In Tacoma, they shut down a ship when the AWPPW put up pickets. In Portland, ILWU members refused to handle containers full of scab cargo.

National picket line

GM's secret button

For a year and a half, the assembly line at General Motors's Chevrolet truck plant in Flint, Michigan, whizzed along at a pace the workers there knew was faster than their contract allowed. But somehow, whenever they complained and union representatives timed the line with stopwatches, it was never shown to be "speeding."

Then one day late last November, an electrician accidentally discovered a hidden control box in the always-locked supervisors office. General Motors admits that "thousands" of "free" trucks were built before the supervisors were caught with their fingers on the secret speedup button.

The United Auto Workers demanded back pay for the workers who had suffered the speedup. The company stalled for two months until finally the 7,000-member UAW local threatened to strike. Late last month, an agreement was reached and GM conceded some back pay.

GM, of course, blames it all on the few ambitious supervisors who have been duly "punished" with reassignments. Whether the low-level bosses actually got the official go-ahead from industry tops is hardly the point. They were merely bucking for promotions by ingeniously carrying out GM's motto of profits at any cost . . . to the workers.

Two-day mine strike brings results

Coal miners at two southern Indiana mines walked off the job January 24 to protest the arrest of two union brothers. The following day they were joined by unionists from three other mines in Indiana and Illinois.

Richard Hile and Addison Brock, Jr., were jailed for nearly a week on charges stemming from last winter's coal strike. On January 8, 1978, 192 striking miners were arrested after the nonunion B&M Coal Company's loading dock was damaged. The scab company sued the United Mine Workers for \$182,000. A compliant judge ordered the union to pay the damages plus post a \$200,000 appeal bond by last December 22. When that didn't happen, the two miners were rearrested. The other 190 are out of Spencer County, and sheriffs were waiting for arrest warrants.

The 1,300 miners returned to work January 26, the same day that Hile and Brock were released pending a court hearing. At that court session January 29, Judge Donald Hendrickson declared the miners had never received a fair hearing on the original charges and that neither the 192 nor the union could be held liable for B&M's damages.

B&M, nevertheless, says "the fight isn't over yet."

C&NW drops charges against socialist

Chicago and North Western Railroad notified Manuel Barrera February 2 that disciplinary charges against him have been dropped. Barrera is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for treasurer of Chicago and an activist in Machinists Local 478. He was charged with excessive absenteeism—for example, during the nationwide rail strike last September—and faced a hearing February 8. C&NW backed down after trade unionists and other supporters of Barrera's rights protested this political harassment.

Guideline sanctions illegal?

Carter's wage and price guidelines. The way they work, you see, is that big business keeps its prices down to . . . well, to something reasonable. It started out at 9 percent. But with all the modifications and factors that only industry experts can understand about last year's profit margins and next year's cost increases and product exemptions and the decline of the dollar abroad—well, it's gotten to be a complicated formula.

Workers keep their wage increases down to 7 percent or less—no ifs, ands, or buts.

Enforcement of the "voluntary" guidelines is supposedly through procurement sanctions. If companies fail to observe the price guidelines (hard to imagine with all the loopholes) or if they grant wage hikes above 7 percent, they can be threatened with a cutoff of federal contracts.

Now even this phony punitive measure is being exposed as the hype that it is. The federal General Accounting Office told a House subcommittee February 5 that it had investigated the matter and concluded that such sanctions would be illegal.

The sanction, a GAO official told Congress, "is primarily a psychological device to focus attention on the wage and price spiral."

Carter's whole plan is a "psychological device," all right, aimed at forcing the 4.2 million unionists facing contract expirations this year to accept cuts in their purchasing power.

Gang fighting can go both ways

The government's "psychological devices" did not go unnoticed by A.F. Grospiron, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. He told the same House subcommittee February 5 that negotiations for the OCAW contract were "no less than a gang fight—the oil companies banded together arm-in-arm with the administration's inflation fighters versus the oil workers."

It was too much for Grospiron, who abandoned the demands adopted by the union membership and agreed to a "guidelines" settlement January 11.

Apparently, some of his membership is more willing to stand up to gang fighting. OCAW pickets from Texaco's Eagle Point refinery in Westfield, New Jersey—who have been on strike over local issues since January 17—set up outside the Texaco facility in Port Arthur, Texas, February 5. Supervisory and nonunion personnel were forced to take over plant operations.

—Nancy Cole

UFW appeals to Mexicans

Calif. farm worker strike gains strength

By Arnold Weissberg

California farm workers are continuing their strike against eight Imperial Valley growers, who produce nearly a third of the nation's iceberg lettuce.

So far the United Farm Workers union has scored unprecedented success in convincing workers on both sides of the border to honor the strike.

Part of the union's strategy has been to run ads in Mexican newspapers, appealing to workers who normally enter the United States each day with legal work permits.

The UFW is seeking a wage boost from \$3.70 an hour to \$5.25. The growers countered with a \$.26 an hour raise—claiming they could offer no

more because of President Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines.

Half the workers earn less than \$4.00 an hour during preharvest periods, and many earn less than \$5,000 a year.

The strike comes at the peak of the winter lettuce harvest, with lettuce prices at record levels nationally. The growers claim that a wage hike will further increase lettuce costs in the supermarket. But the UFW has pointed out that wages make up less than three cents per head of lettuce.

The growers have talked high school students and housewives into harvest-

ing some of the lettuce without pay. This ineffective strikebreaking effort is portrayed as helping to keep the price of lettuce down.

Apparently worried that the strike may succeed, the growers ran big newspaper ads February 6 attacking UFW President César Chávez.

Cops arrested twelve picketing farm workers February 5, and also arrested a ranch foreman who had been waving a shotgun at pickets. Two strikers were hospitalized January 29 after being attacked by private security guards hired by the growers.



Picket line during 1975 strike. Growers' attacks haven't broken farm workers' spirit.

A victory in Arizona

Farm workers have won an important victory with the signing of a contract at the Arrowhead Ranch in Arizona, partly owned by the Goldwater family.

"This is the first contract signed with undocumented workers," said Lupe Sánchez of the Maricopa County Organizing Project, which has been fighting to win contracts at Arrowhead and other ranches in the area for years.

In the past, strikes were broken up when the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service arrested

pickets en masse and deported them.

So the workers changed tactics. Instead of picketing, they just stayed in the fields and didn't work.

The new pact provides \$1.13 per bag of lemons for harvesters now and \$1.35 starting in September. In 1977 harvesters were paid \$.60 a bag. Workers on hourly rate will get a minimum of \$3.50 an hour.

The contract also provides health insurance and an economic development fund. Ranch owners will pay ten cents per hour per worker into the fund.

—A.W.

Carter urged to free P.R. Nationalists

By Peter Archer

On January 8—the same day it recommended the release of Patricia Hearst from prison—the Justice Department also advised President Carter to commute the sentences of the four Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners.

Irving Flores, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Lolita Lebron are the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere. They were jailed in the early 1950s for armed actions carried out in support of Puerto Rican independence.

The Justice Department's recommendation is an indication of the increasing pressure Carter feels from the outcry against the plight of the four.

Protests have come both from abroad and within Puerto Rico. But the president has yet to take any action to free the four.

A press release from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party called on "the Left and progressive forces to renew our solidarity and support for the four Nationalist prisoners."

The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, also calls for immediate freedom for the four.

Juan Robles Burgos sent a letter to Carter January 24 in the name of the league.

"The compatriots are political pri-

soners of your government," Robles Burgos wrote. "They were deprived of their freedom for exercising their legitimate right to defend their homeland against the vile invasion and oppression by the government that you head.

"We are tired of hearing over and over again on all the news media your rhetoric about defending human rights," the letter continued.

"... the case of the four Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners gives the lie to and exposes the hypocrisy of such sloganeering."

Carter's advisers have said that the reason the president has not acted is that there are differences within Puerto Rico about whether the four

should be freed. They point to the fact that Puerto Rican Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló opposes granting freedom to the four.

"Division certainly does exist," the LIT scornfully commented in their letter. "On one side is the unanimous, nonpartisan outcry from the entire Puerto Rican population. . . .

"On the other side is Romero Barceló."

The LIT ended the letter by saying:

"Mr. Carter, you have only one alternative if you want to lend credibility and seriousness to your so-called human rights policy. The only alternative is: Immediate and unconditional release of the four Puerto Rican Nationalists!"

...Iran

Continued from page 4

sion among working people on the nature of the government that they want to bring about.

One group of oil workers has released a statement saying that whatever national council Khomeini establishes must include workers and peasants as well as religious leaders.

Two women wrote a letter to one of the Tehran dailies demanding that women also be included in such a council.

A "people's consulate" that developed in the struggle in Mahabad, in Kurdistan, passed a resolution on the Kurdish people's demands. The resolution says that any future national government must have Kurdish representatives.

"Make sure the political leaders and the Ayatollah know that within the framework of Iran and democracy in Iran, Kurdish people have to have their own national rights," one part of the resolution states.

These proposals point to the centrality of the demand for a constituent assembly. As Iranian Trotskyists explain in the program they are distributing here:

"No government appointed from above can bring freedom to Iran.

"The achievement of democracy, the elimination of imperialist domination,

and the winning of real independence is possible only through the struggle of the broad masses. . . .

"High school students and all other sections of society, literate or illiterate, must have the right to take part in the constituent assembly elections. All political groups banned under the shah's regime must have the right to participate in these elections. This right must be extended as well to the soldiers. . . .

"Committees of workers, soldiers, women, and peasants—both those committees that already exist and others that must be formed—could discuss the various issues and supervise the elections to the constituent assembly."

Strike committees

Through their militant struggles, the workers are already developing their own forms of organization.

In many factories, strike committees meet frequently to discuss what action the workers should take.

The idea of opening the books of the companies and nationalizing the industry has been raised at a few of these gatherings.

Students and socialist activists have been welcome to participate in some of these meetings.

One of the questions the workers are discussing is whether to end their strike. Bakhtiar is, of course, demanding this. And the strike coordinating

committee set up by Khomeini has urged many of the strikers to go back to work.

This drew an angry response from some leaders of the oil workers' strike. On February 1 Mohammad Javad Khatemi, first representative of the strike committee in Ahwaz, resigned to protest efforts by what he called "non-progressive" religious leaders to impose policy decisions on the oil workers. He said he would continue to play an active role in the strike.

In an open letter, Khatemi blasted the "oppressive atmosphere in Ahwaz and the usurpation of the responsibilities formerly held by the representatives of the striking oil workers by Ayatollah Khomeini's delegation headed by Mehdi Bazargan."

"Those who think the struggle has come to an end are wrong," Khatemi declared. "They have not understood the character of U.S. imperialism. . . . The enemy is wounded but still has the fulcrum of power remaining in its hands. We must remember the fate of Portugal, Argentina, and especially Chile."

Khatemi also said there must be workers' control of the oil fields.

Neighborhood committees

In the impoverished working-class neighborhoods of south Tehran, there are also committees. Every day workers gather in a mosque to discuss

the tasks that need to be carried out, such as distribution of food, acquiring medical supplies, and defense. Political discussions also take place.

These initial strike committees and neighborhood committees can play an important role in deepening the struggle, in the absence of an organized labor movement and a mass workers party.

The oil workers strike committee, for example, has had discussions on the need to go beyond local demonstrations and strikes, and to unite and organize the entire population.

In Tehran groups of workers have begun visiting the campuses, where many of the political meetings take place.

The Iranian Trotskyists are urging these struggle committees to join the fight for a constituent assembly. The committees can also demand the rehiring of fired workers, the release of political prisoners, the right to form trade unions. They can begin to provide defense for meetings and for striking workers.

Another crucial step in strengthening the revolution, the Iranian Trotskyists believe, is a united struggle for democratic rights. This includes the legalization of all political parties and newspapers. It means opening up political meetings to free discussion and welcoming all banners and organizations at demonstrations.

Still looking for the good guy

Why 'Guardian' is baffled by Cambodia

By Matilde Zimmermann

The *Guardian* newspaper is at a loss to explain what has happened in Cambodia. An editorial entitled "Kampuchea: Time will tell" in the January 17 issue confesses that "the *Guardian* is reserving its judgment for the time being on the recent developments in Kampuchea."

The *Guardian* editors explain that "the military conflict . . . is extremely complicated." But their real problem seems to be that they do not know who to believe anymore.

The *Guardian's* predicament flows from the fact that until recently it accepted without question everything that either the Hanoi regime or the Pol Pot government had to say. This approach became patently untenable with the two involved in a shooting war.

Despite the weakness of its own position, however, the *Guardian* has been quick to criticize the *Militant* on Cambodia.

The column on "the left" in the January 24 *Guardian* completely misrepresents the position taken by Fred Feldman in the January 19 *Militant*. According to the *Guardian*, the *Militant* "essentially condemned in varying degrees Kampuchea, Vietnam and China for what it saw as their role in the events."

What did the *Militant* really say?

"The differing social nature of the regimes in Cambodia and Vietnam," Feldman explained, "is key to the lineup of forces in the recent war."

Feldman described the deepening social revolution in southern Vietnam over the past year, especially surrounding the measures in spring 1978 that transformed all of Vietnam into a single, unified workers state. He explained that the path chosen by the Khmer Rouge leadership when it came to power in 1975 cut off the possibility of such a social transformation taking place in Cambodia. With all its peculiarities, Cambodia remained capitalist.

Imperialist campaign

At the root of the current situation in Indochina, explained Feldman, is the stepped-up imperialist drive against Vietnam following the overthrow of the remnants of capitalism in the south last spring. By the end of 1978, Vietnam was under great pressure as a result of this international campaign.

The bureaucracy in Peking, anxious to curry favor with Washington, was making threatening noises on Vietnam's northern frontier.

In Laos, 25,000 Vietnamese troops were supporting the Pathet Lao government in an ongoing civil war with pro-imperialist forces.

On another border, Vietnam was involved in a military conflict with Cambodia. Meanwhile, the Pol Pot government was looking more and more openly toward the imperialists to back it up in that conflict.

"Under all these circumstances," Feldman explained, "Vietnam's Stalinist rulers felt pressed to act against what was simultaneously the most politically vulnerable and the most militarily active of its opponents, the Cambodian regime headed by Pol Pot. They felt they had to strike quickly and massively, before the United States could take advantage of the conflict by beginning to forge links with Pol Pot."

"The Vietnamese leaders' intentions in Cambodia were defensive and not revolutionary," Feldman wrote. "Nonetheless, a major part of the imperialists' concerns stems from their fear that a victory for Vietnam and its Cambodian allies will result in the extension of socialist revolution to Cambodia."

The Stalinist leadership in Hanoi has no interest in extending Vietnam's revolution. Hanoi ordered the invasion



Phnompenh, April 17, 1975: Townspeople hailed Khmer Rouge as liberators. But urban workers were driven out by Pol Pot before their power could be brought to bear.

of Cambodia for the same reason it has sent troops to fight against counterrevolutionary guerrillas in Laos—to defend the workers state in Vietnam, on which its own bureaucratic privileges depend.

The current war is not the first time the *Guardian* has attacked the *Militant* for its position on Cambodia.

When the Cambodian rebels defeated imperialism and put Pol Pot in power in April 1975, the *Guardian* took the position that the new regime could do no wrong.

Defended forced evacuation

Thus, the *Guardian* responded quickly and indignantly to an article by Joseph Hansen, entitled "The Forced Evacuation of Cambodia's Cities," that appeared in the May 19, 1975, *Intercontinental Press*. (This article was reprinted in the *Militant* dated February 2, 1979.)

Hansen hailed the Cambodian victory over imperialism. But he expressed concern about the brutal evacuation of the cities that immediately followed—a move that was never explained to the Cambodian workers and peasants, much less discussed or decided on by them. Hansen said that the forced dispersal of the urban masses posed a great threat to the development of the Cambodian revolution in a socialist direction:

"The fact is that the bulk of the city population in Cambodia consists of workers and artisans and their families. To view them as potential, if not actual class enemies is not Marxist. And to drive them into the countryside for 'reeducation' does grave injury to the Cambodian revolution. The same layers, in alliance with the peasants, constitute the key force required to move toward a socialist society."

Carl Davidson (then a *Guardian* staff writer) used the paper's "Which side are you on?" column in the May 28, 1975, issue to blast Hansen as "a mouthpiece for imperialist propaganda." He accused the SWP of "rooting around in the garbage can of imperialism to find some 'deformities'

[that] aren't there in real life."

Davidson simply asserted that the forced evacuation never took place, that the whole thing was a campaign of "mammoth lies and distortions" by the bourgeois media.

Even when the *Guardian* later admitted that Cambodia's cities had been evacuated, the newspaper continued to insist the exodus had been voluntary and necessary. This stand was based exclusively on the pronouncements of the Pol Pot regime and of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

When news of a second massive forced migration leaked out of Cambodia at the end of 1975, the *Guardian* again dismissed the reports as "press slanders." An article by George Hildebrand and Sokhom Hing in the February 25, 1976, issue said the stories of forced migrations were concocted by refugees who were "carefully selected" by the CIA and consisted of "privileged elements of the old regime" and those who "actually fought against the patriotic forces."

Hildebrand and Sokhom Hing offered two explanations for any movement of people that might have occurred. (According to some reports, 2 to 3 million of Cambodia's 7 million people were involved.) It had to be either the centuries-old tradition of moving to other parts of the country to harvest rice or preserve fish, or else it was "carried out rationally in the context of a national economic plan."

In either case, they went so far as to call what was going on in Cambodia "the consolidation of people's power."

Some admissions

But the course of events has now forced the *Guardian* to admit that Cambodian reality was something else entirely. The "Time will tell" editorial accuses the Pol Pot regime of "apparently pursuing a unique path to socialism characterized to a large degree by ultra-'leftism' in its internal affairs and by an incorrect policy of handling contradictions among the people."

After all that is now known about

the suffering imposed on the Cambodian people, the *Guardian* still couches its criticism in this kind of mealy-mouthed verbiage! This has nothing in common with revolutionary journalism.

On the contrary, the *Guardian's* uncritical stance toward any regime that calls itself revolutionary is part of the tradition of Stalinism, not Marxism. During the Moscow trials, for example, Stalin expected his followers to mindlessly accept the most outrageous frame-ups.

This adulation of Stalinist and petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes—whether in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique, or Angola—disorients the *Guardian*. It leads to abrupt changes in policy, such as the *Guardian* was forced to make on China when the Peking bureaucracy objectively sided with the South African invaders during the Angolan war. The *Guardian's* previous uncritical attitude toward the Chinese regime in no way prepared its readers for this about-face.

The method of true Marxist journalism is the opposite. It starts with the necessity to tell the truth. Glossing over the errors of a regime does not make it any more revolutionary. Nor does it aid in defending the country against imperialist attack. It only sows confusion.

In fact, the *Guardian* now finds itself paralyzed in mounting a campaign to defend Vietnam against a concerted international imperialist offensive. The *Guardian* has been politically unable to respond clearly to the Pol Pot regime's call for United Nations intervention; to the threats of Japan, Sweden, and other imperialist countries to cut off aid to Vietnam; or even to the U.S. media's frenzied anti-Vietnam propaganda.

The *Guardian* is evidently still attempting to develop a coherent position on the war in Cambodia. But if this effort is to be successful, its editors will have to take a critical look at the method they have used up until now in approaching regimes like the one recently overthrown in Cambodia.

Messages from around

Hugo Blanco

Leader of the Fourth International and of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Peru. Member of the Peruvian Constituent Assembly.

Many Trotskyists in different parts of the world have learned from Joseph Hansen. He will be present through his teachings, and his influence will be felt and will be expressed in many languages.

I think that is the most fitting tribute that Joseph Hansen could receive.

Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee

Joseph Hansen set a tremendous example for young people the world over through his writings, his day-to-day work as a builder of the revolutionary party and Fourth International.

He has helped to provide us with a strategy and clear perspective for ridding ourselves from an outmoded, decaying capitalist society that daily robs young people and the working masses of the opportunity to develop as full human beings. . . .

Socialist Workers Party of Argentina

If Joe's death catches us by surprise at a moment where there is a political distancing between the leaderships of our two parties, this does not negate—even more—it reaffirms the role the SWP, and in particular Comrade Hansen, has played in the long struggle to build our party and the International.

It was during his first visit to our country

in 1961 that the whole party had the opportunity to establish close relations with the comrade, and since that time he became for all our members one of the best-loved international leaders. . . .

We not only learned from the political experience of the SWP and Joe, but we were also comrades in a common political struggle against the guerrillaist deviation, in defense of the Leninist method of party building, during which Joe was in the front lines. . . .

Socialist Workers Party of Uruguay

The members of the Uruguayan Socialist Workers Party were lucky enough to have enjoyed Joseph Hansen's invaluable support and his fraternal criticisms of our experiences, when, during the upsurge of guerrillaism and ultraleftism in our country and in our International, we started to build our section linked to the workers and people's movement, and we threw ourselves into an election campaign in 1971.

From exile and from within Uruguay, we want to be with you today through these lines. *Hasta la victoria siempre!*

Marcelo Zugadi Workers Manifesto group of Argentina

The world revolution will keep a special place for Joe Hansen. The best homage will be the Eleventh World Congress confirming the triumph of the last great battle of the old fighter.

Fausto Amador, for the Socialist Workers Orga- nization of Costa Rica

This is a heavy blow for those of us who need further education and steeling in Leninist principles and traditions. Our generation of Trotskyist cadre was tempered with the firmness and serenity with which Joe confronted the attempts to find shortcuts that would supposedly shorten the tough job of party building. . . .

Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révo- lutionnaire

Joe Hansen was a revolutionary leader with the long view, who helped to transmit the program and experience of Trotsky, of

those who founded the Fourth International. Since that time he has been in the vanguard of applying this program to the new features of the world revolution. Analyzing how workers states were established without a revolutionary party, he also insisted that the detour would not continue and that the working class was moving into the lead.

He lived to see this prospect become a reality and helped to plan the Fourth International's turn to meet the important openings this brings—for striking roots in the working class, and for strengthened unity of world Trotskyism.

We will pursue these tasks with Joe Hansen's tenacious objectivity and revolutionary optimism.

Revolutionary Communist League of France

. . . Trotsky's comrade-in-arms, leader of the SWP, which he built, and of the Fourth International, which he helped to found—Comrade Joseph Hansen was one of those whose role was decisive in keeping Trotskyism alive and fighting, so that the new revolutionary generations coming to the Fourth International would find intact the tradition of the 1917 October revolution, Bolshevism, and the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky.

We will never forget what we owe Comrade Joseph Hansen. We express our fullest solidarity to the comrades of the SWP, and know that, together with you, we can pay Joe the tribute that his entire life has earned him by continuing and deepening his struggle.

Internationalist Workers League of Puerto Rico

The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores offers its sympathy and its thanks for Joseph Hansen's role in the formation of our organization in 1974. At that time, he talked about the importance of having a regular and consistent paper of good quality, advice we have tried to uphold up to today.

Revolutionary Marxist League of Switzerland

. . . As the Fourth International was being founded, right before World War II, all the comrades who took part in it were aware that what mattered above all was

Nearly 100 messages paying tribute to Joe Hansen have been received in the weeks following his death. Hansen was a longtime leader of the Fourth International, editor of 'The Militant' and a former editor of the 'Monthly Review' as secretary to Leon Trotsky in the 1930s.

The messages have come from comrades and friends of Hansen's; from many branches of the Fourth International; from chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance; from national sections and sympathizers of the Fourth International; and from other revolutionary movements.

Below are excerpts from a number of messages. Those from veteran comrade Marcel Scholl, and from the Workers Party, were printed in

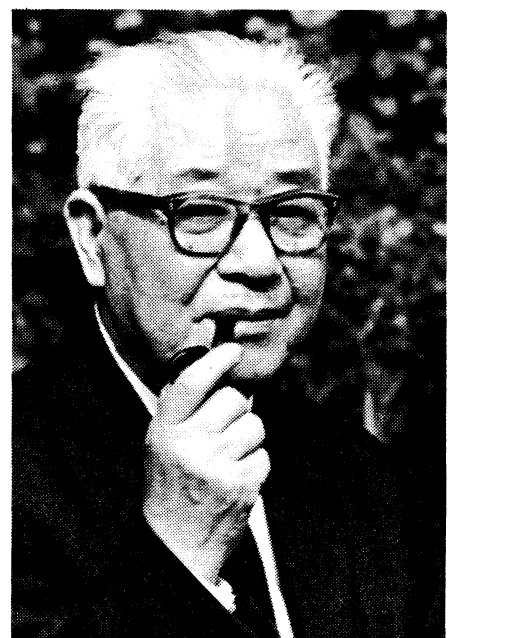
For the Fourth International
For the Socialist Workers Party
For the Young Socialist Alliance



Speakers at January 28 New York meeting read tributes to Joseph Hansen by chair.



Militant/Lou H. ERNEST MANDEL: 'Joe became one of the key factors to assure the continuity of revolutionary Marxism.'



Veteran Chinese Trotskyist Peng Shu-Tse (above) in photograph taken by Joseph Hansen. Chen Pili-an with Hansen (right). 'We had three very rich and rewarding years of contact with Joe.'

Press reports Hansen death

Articles assessing the accomplishments of Joseph Hansen have appeared in newspapers of the Trotskyist movement throughout the world. Hansen's death was also reported in the *New York Times*; *Le Monde*, the leading Paris daily; the U.S. *Guardian* weekly; and the daily newspaper of the Belgian Communist Party.

L.A. meeting adds \$1,700 to fund

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—More than 150 people gathered here February 4 to pay tribute to the life and work of Joseph Hansen. The meeting raised \$1,700 towards the \$20,000 special fund launched last month to begin publication of Hansen's major writings.

One of the speakers at the meeting was Steve Warshell, an aircraft worker and member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in San Diego. Warshell worked with Hansen on *Intercontinental Press* for six years, beginning in 1970.

"If I were to single out one thing, the most important thing, that Joe instilled in me," said Warshell, "not only through what he said but through his life and attitudes, it was to be confident in our success."

Speaking with Warshell was Art Sharon, who joined the Trotskyist movement in 1933 and collaborated with Hansen for many years in the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International. Sharon reviewed the leading role Hansen played in his forty-five years of service to the revolutionary movement.

"The whole essence of revolutionary politics," Sharon said, "is the ability to recognize the turning points in history—turning points

like the Cuban revolution. This is what marked Joe's greatest talent.

"He became a champion of the Cuban revolution and recognized that it meant the opening of an entirely new epoch.

"Joe didn't sacrifice his life to the movement," Sharon concluded. "Joe felt that being in the revolutionary movement was a great privilege. He felt it was a privilege to be a part of history, the way he had been. It was a great privilege to serve, in whatever capacity, to push forward the historical movement at a great turning point.

"That was Joe Hansen. That's how we look at him, that's how he felt, and that's why we salute him."

* * *

SWP National Committee member Frank Lovell spoke at a Cleveland meeting for the Hansen Publishing Fund on January 27. The meeting raised \$455. Lovell also spoke in Louisville on February 5.

Other meetings have been held in New Orleans, Seattle, and San Diego.

A San Francisco Bay Area meeting will be held February 11 at 3:00 p.m. at the Unitarian Church, corner of Franklin and Geary streets in San Francisco. Call (415) 824-1992.

A Toronto, Canada, meeting will

be held February 16. Speakers include John Riddell and Judy Rebick of the RWL/LOR (Revolutionary Workers League), Ross Dowson of *Forward* newspaper and a veteran of the Trotskyist movement, and a representative of the U.S. SWP. Call (416) 862-8240.

A Detroit meeting will be held February 17 at 7 p.m. at 6404 Woodward. Call (313) 875-5322.

As of February 6, \$11,000 had been raised or pledged at these meetings. The money will make possible the publication of Hansen's writings on revolutionary strategy in Latin America, the workers and farmers government, and many other topics in Marxist politics and theory. The fund has already been sponsored by more than forty prominent individuals both inside and outside the Trotskyist movement in fifteen countries.

To contribute, fill out the coupon below and send it to:

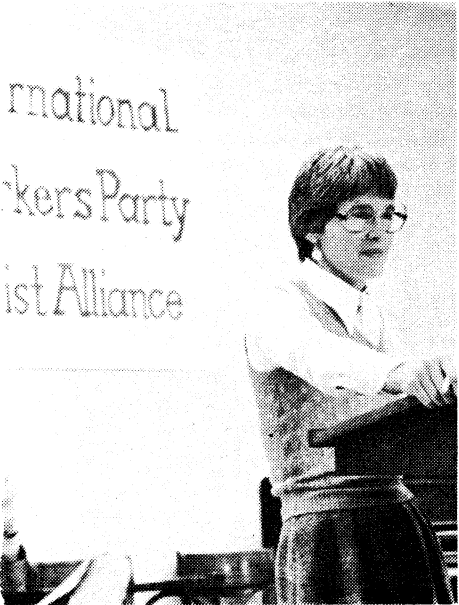
Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
I want to contribute \$ _____.
Name _____
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World hail Joe Hansen

tribute to Joseph Hansen have
ring his death on January 18.
ie Socialist Workers Party and
ercontinental Press/Inprecor,'
.. From 1937 to 1940 he served
exico.

every part of the world; from
ver forty-five years of revolu-
ches of the Socialist Workers
g Socialist Alliance; from na-
organizations of the Fourth
tical tendencies in the workers

representative sampling of these
VP leaders Farrell Dobbs and
wly formed Iranian Socialist
ist week's issue.



Militant/Lou Howort
in audience in applauding one of many
son Mary-Alice Waters.



Militant/Pedro Camejo
HUGO BLANCO: 'Joe's influence
will be felt and expressed in many
languages.'



Militant/Betsey Stone

saving the revolutionary experiences of the
proletariat, through the dark period of
fascism, for a new generation of militant
workers.

This placed an enormous task on the
young comrades who were recruited to the
party at that time. They had to transmit
Marxism to future generations in struggle
and be the cadres of the future world party.
Comrade Hansen was one of those who took
this difficult task upon themselves. . . .

Thanks to the tradition that Comrade
Hansen passed on to us, we Trotskyists
gained an understanding of the interrela-
tion of objective developments and the
tasks of party building, which enabled us to
carry out such important steps as the reu-
nification [of the Fourth International]. We
younger members have an especially vivid
memory of how and what Comrade Hansen
fought for at the Ninth World Congress. He
helped us find a direction that will help the
Latin American workers movement take a
big step forward. . . .

Revolutionary Socialist League of Denmark

. . . We knew Joe above all as the editor
of *Intercontinental Press*. Being the com-
rade who led in the task of producing *IP*,
Joe contributed something extremely impor-
tant to us. It was important for our party in
our efforts to follow the class struggle on an
international scale and to reach revolution-
ary political conclusions. It was important to
have the *IP* in our job of building a
revolutionary press with information about
the process that is fundamentally decisive
for the ongoing class struggle in Denmark:
the crisis of world imperialism. Conse-
quently, it also was important in contribut-
ing to the strengthening of proletarian in-
ternationalism. . . .

David McReynolds War Resisters League

. . . I want, on behalf of the War Resisters
League, and I am sure on behalf of many in
the socialist community, to express our
support to the friends of Joseph Hansen, to
his co-workers and comrades in the move-
ment he had served so long.

International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency

. . . It is with great sorrow that our
tendency has learned about the death of
Comrade Joe Hansen. . . . We know that
his whole political life was identified with
the very life of the international socialist
current and of the SWP.

More precisely, Joe Hansen was the inter-
nationalist American comrade at the side of
Leon Trotsky and Natalia who carried on
the struggle at Coyoacán and who at the
time of the hideous assassination of the
"Old Man" by an agent of Stalin's GPU
stood in the direct line of fire of this blow
directed at the world revolution.

We remember Joe as a driving force
behind the *Militant*, revolutionary journal-
ist and polemicist, and as a leading member
of the SWP. . . .

In the name of the International Revolu-
tionary Marxist Tendency, we salute the
memory of Joe Hansen, we send our greatest
sympathy to Comrade Reba [Hansen], and
we salute your organization for the struggle
it has waged in the United States toward
the world socialist revolution.

Pierre Lambert Internationalist Communist Organiza- tion of France (OCI)

. . . As you know, it is always difficult to
write or speak about a comrade who, to his
dying breath, stuck to his task as a fighter
for the proletarian revolution. Words and
sentences lose their impact. . . .

In Joe Hansen you have lost one of those
who answered the call of Leon Trotsky and
James P. Cannon in the fight to give the
international proletariat the necessary in-
strument for the victory of the socialist
revolution. In committing himself, in com-
mitting his entire life to the fight for the
Fourth International, Joe Hansen knew
that he was making a necessary contribu-
tion to the building of a revolutionary party
in the United States. . . .

Pierre Frank Leader of the Fourth International and contributing editor of 'Intercontinen- tal Press/Inprecor'

. . . I would like to take a few words here

to recall the close collaboration I had with
Joe for several years, beginning in 1962.
This collaboration, which helped ensure the
reunification of the Fourth International,
took place on a daily basis until the first
serious illness impaired his health. It
contributed greatly to first achieving, then
consolidating the reunification of the
Fourth International, and to giving it a new
impetus in a period that proved decisive—
for it prepared the International and its
sections to make the turn that the events of
May 1968 opened the way for, and that
resulted in gains for these sections for the
first time in their history. . . .

Ernest Mandel

Leader of the Fourth International and
contributing editor of 'Intercontinen-
tal Press/Inprecor'

Charles-André Udry

Leader of the Fourth International

Having had the opportunity to be a close
personal collaborator of Leon Trotsky and
of Jim Cannon, Joe tried all his life to apply
the political and organizational principles
he learned from these great revolutionists.
Through this endeavor, he became one of
the key factors to assure the continuity of
revolutionary Marxism in your
organization.

One of the most important contributions
in this sense was the decisive role he played
in the early sixties in preparing and
making possible the reunification of the
Fourth International. His contribution to
the struggle to maintain the unity of the
movement in spite of the serious differences
which divided us in the 1969-1976 period
was of equal importance.

Working together with Joe during various
periods of this whole stage in the history of
the Fourth International, we had more than
one occasion to appreciate the maturity of
his judgment, his leadership qualities, and
his complete personal integrity.

Joseph Hansen will live on in the
Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth
International. To successfully build the
world party of socialist revolution will be
the adequate way to honor his memory.

Livio Maitan

Leader of the Fourth International and
contributing editor of 'Intercontinen-
tal Press/Inprecor'

Joe was one of those men from whom
everyone can and ought to learn. I recall his
clear and uncompromising struggle for the
unification of our international movement
and his determined work to forge the tools
of this unification.

His name will always be inscribed in the
history of the Socialist Workers Party and
the Fourth International.

Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan

Longtime leaders of the Fourth Inter-
national and of the Chinese Trotskyist
movement

. . . It was in 1962 that we met Joe. He
had come to Paris to attend the memorial
meeting for Natalia Sedova Trotsky. We
were deeply impressed with his personal
warmth and physical strength, as we had
been with his courage as Trotsky's secre-
tary and as a member of Trotsky's defense
guard.

In the spring of 1963 Joe and Reba,
together with Ross Dowson [then a leader of
the Canadian section of the Fourth Interna-
tional] came to France to visit us. Their
object was to collaborate with us and others
in the world Trotskyist movement to heal
the ten-year split in the International. . . .

We had three very rich and rewarding
years of contact with Joe. Even through the
difficulties of language, there was nothing
we could not or did not discuss with Joe.

Our own circumstances at that time were
quite difficult. No matter how demanding
the political tasks, Joe still took the time to
look after our health and comfort. Once he
spent an entire day building by hand and
installing special insulation for every win-
dow in our apartment to keep out the bitter
cold. All we had for warmth was an old,
broken down coal-burning stove that would
never burn the night through. Without a
word to us, Joe went out and searched the
streets of Paris for a special Belgian stove
to keep us warm through the cold nights.
And though his own finances were so
limited, Joe wanted to share the expense
with us!

Joe made our home warm in others ways,
as well. It was Joe who organized the
almost endless stream of Trotskyists from

every corner of the world through our home.
He helped to make our home a center of
international comradeship and collabora-
tion.

Joe was an excellent militant. He will be
greatly missed. All of us, especially the
youth, should redouble our efforts to com-
plete the work Joe left behind.

The Spark

Biweekly U.S. newspaper associated
with the international current led by
the French Lutte Ouvrière (Workers
Struggle)

We were sorry to hear about the death of
Joseph Hansen. He gave forty-five years to
the working-class movement. To have a
comrade like that is a rare thing today. We
sympathize with you in the loss of Comrade
Hansen.

Tamara Deutscher

Joe was one of those steadfast comrades
whose whole life was devoted to the cause of
revolution. To further this cause he spared
neither his strength nor his health.

I shall remember him not only for his
singleness of purpose, his qualities of a
revolutionary, but also for his warm-
hearted, loyal friendship, his kindness and
attentiveness, which he was always show-
ing me personally. . . .

Socialist Action League of New Zealand

The generation that came to Trotskyism
in the 1960s and 1970s owes a tremendous
debt to Joe Hansen. Through his editorship
of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* and its
predecessors, through his many clear-
headed contributions to the international
discussion on party building in Europe and
Latin America, on the nature of the Cuban
revolution, and on the course of Stalinism
in the postwar period, Joe was our principal
teacher through whom we learned the
ABCs of socialist strategy.

In this respect, in our opinion he stood as
the foremost living leader of the Fourth
International. . . .

Morris Stein

Sylvia Bleecker

Longtime co-workers and friends of
Joseph Hansen.

We, who broke early with the Stalinized
Communist Party and formed part of the
first generation of American Trotskyism,
know at full value what Joe Hansen's
contributions meant for the continuation
and reinforcement of our movement. He
was one of the most talented, hard-working,
and dependable comrades belonging to the
second generation. The present generation
can well take him as a model of what a
leader, educated in the ideas of the Fourth
International, can and should be.

By Joseph Hansen

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution: The Trotskyist View.

393 pp. cloth \$18; paper \$5.45.

The Abern Clique.

32 pp. \$50.

Class, Party, and State and the Eastern European Revolution.

62 pp., \$1.25.

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With James P. Cannon and others.
56 pp. \$1.35.

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With James P. Cannon. 48 pp. \$1.25.

Healy's Big Lie.

With George Novack and others. 128
pp. \$2.

The Workers and Farmers Govern- ment.

64 pp. \$2.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410
West Street, New York, New York
10014. Enclose \$.50 for postage.

Open police spy files!

Delegation blasts cops on Tony Adams murder

By Dave Hurst

SALT LAKE CITY—A broadly representative delegation of twenty people lodged a protest January 30 with the city commission here over the lack of police action in investigating the murder of Tony Adams.

Adams, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a prominent activist in the Black and gay liberation movements, was killed on the weekend of November 3.

On behalf of more than sixty organizations and individuals, the delegation called on the city commission to:

- declare its opposition to all acts of intimidation and violence,
- order the police to release all their files on Adams from the period before his murder, and
- conduct a public hearing on police handling of the murder.

Supporters of these demands included NAACP President James Dooley; Karen Reimer of the Salt Lake

National Organization for Women; Frank Cordova of the University of Utah Chicano Students Association; Rev. E. John Langlitz, All Saints Episcopal Church; Allen Lee Blaich, chairperson of the Lesbian and Gay Student Union; Pam Burchett, SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City; Michael Moody, Young Socialist Alliance; and a number of faculty members at the University of Utah.

Safety Commissioner Glen Greener called the idea of a resolution against violence "ridiculous." He said that for the police to release their records of political surveillance of Adams would "obstruct the investigation."

Greener then walked out, ensuring that a quorum of the commission would not be present to act on the complaint.

Clemens Bak, chairperson of the Salt Lake SWP, pointed out to the commission that police had tried to frame Adams on a solicitation charge that

was finally dropped just three days before his death.

"Police continue to deny knowing who Tony was at the time of his arrest last summer," Bak said. "Given his public role as a party spokesperson and a well-known activist for social justice in this city, we find that patently absurd."

After outlining the three demands of the delegation, Bak declared: "We believe these steps would protect not only political activists but every citizen of Salt Lake City from acts of intimidation and violence."

Next to address the commission was Rev. Robert Waldrop of the Metropolitan Community Church, who pointed out the hostile attitude of the Salt Lake police towards gays.

Said Waldrop, "We're willing to do all we can to help in this investigation, but we feel that there are some attitudes that are causing this inefficiency and a lack of interest in this case on

the part of the Salt Lake police."

SWP candidate Pam Burchett described the role that the police have played in creating "a climate where violence of this type can appear to be tolerated."

She told the commissioners, "Your attitude towards this case will be seen as a measure of the state of civil rights in Salt Lake City."

The response of the commissioners was to defer all action on the requests.

Commission Chairman Jennings Phillips suggested that the city attorney would look into the legality of releasing police files.

Letters of support from around the country are needed to bring pressure to bear on the Salt Lake City Commission to take action. Letters should be addressed to Mayor Ted Wilson and Safety Commissioner Glen Greener c/o City-County Building, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111, with copies to SWP, 677 South Seventh East, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102.

Demand Louisville police act on rightist attack

By Cris Mann

LOUISVILLE—A delegation including representatives of community organizations and the Socialist Workers Party met with top police officials here February 1 to demand a thorough investigation of the November 4 tear-gas attack on an SWP election rally.

Members of the delegation were Elizabeth Jayko, SWP candidate for governor of Kentucky; Jim Burfeind, former SWP congressional candidate; Robert Stenger of the Louisville Civil Liberties Union; Cathy Ford of the National Organization for Women; Lyman Johnson, a leader of the Black community and member of the Louisville school board; David Fleming-Hughes of the Mobilization for Survival; and William Allison, attorney for the SWP.

People at the November 4 campaign meeting were saved from serious injury only because Burfeind quickly tossed the tear-gas grenade out the door. But the police have stalled for three months, taking no action in the case.

In contrast, when a tear-gas grenade was thrown into a bingo game at the Holy Family Catholic school January 21, ten police officers were assigned to the case and an arrest was made only three days later.

The blatant difference in the handling of the two cases prompted the Louisville *Courier-Journal* to print an

editorial January 25 assailing the police inaction in the SWP case.

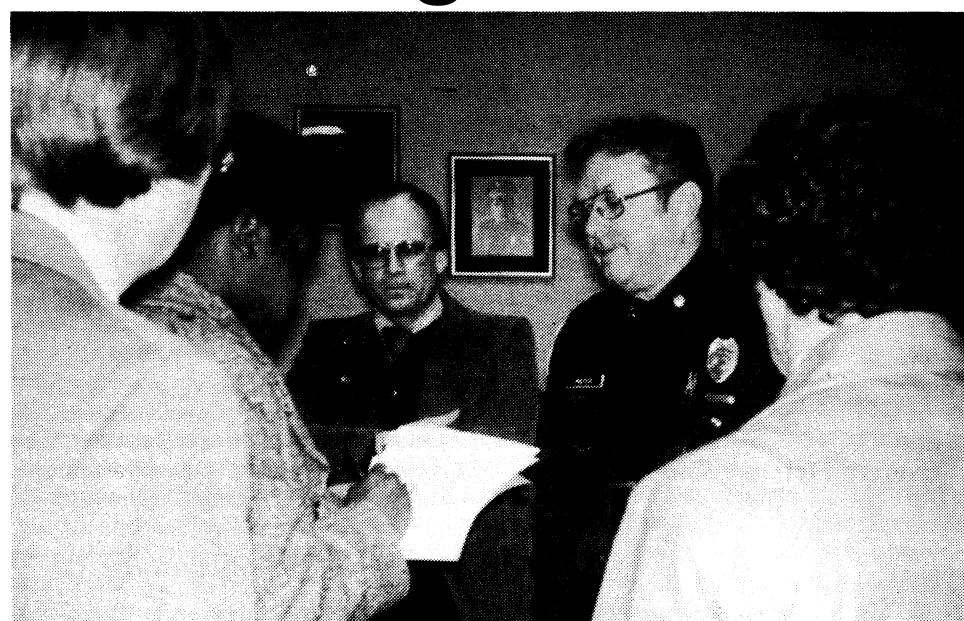
Although forced by such pressure to meet with the delegation on the SWP attack, Lt. Col. Norman Mayer expressed his attitude at the end of the meeting when he said, "I'm not obligated to meet with you, but we did."

Despite the refusal of the police department to enforce the law when it comes to protecting the rights of socialists, there are good prospects for keeping up the pressure on Louisville's scandal-racked police force.

Media coverage of the delegation was extensive, although the police barred reporters from the meeting. Reports appeared in both major daily papers here, the *Courier-Journal* and the *Louisville Times*. Also covering the delegation were the *Defender*, Louisville's Black community newspaper; the University of Louisville *Cardinal*; and two of the local television stations.

Police inaction in regard to the November 4 attack has been taken as a green light by right-wing thugs in Louisville. Burfeind, a member of Machinists Lodge 2409, faces persistent harassment at his job in Louisville's giant General Electric plant.

Burfeind entered a new shop at GE on January 3. He has suffered harassment from a small group of right-wingers on twenty of his first twenty-three days at work.



Militant /Cris Mann

Community delegation to demand action against rightists received extensive media coverage, although police barred reporters from meeting.

Incidents against Burfeind—sometimes as many as five a day—include pouring water on him from overhead catwalks, pinning on bulletin boards anticommunist literature threatening violence against socialists, and vandalizing his tools and equipment.

The SWP and others, including the Louisville Civil Liberties Union, are

demanding that GE put a stop to this harassment. Growing numbers of Burfeind's co-workers are fed up with the actions of the right-wing minority.

Meanwhile, the SWP refuses to be intimidated. Socialists are winning support for their ideas as well as for their right to express them. Seven people have joined the party since the November attack.

...Britain

Continued from page 3

announcing that it may cut public expenditures by \$3 billion, scuttling many vital services.

Union officials are worried about the militancy of the current strike wave. "I have never known them to be more alarmed," says Manchester *Guardian* columnist Peter Jenkins. "These new trade unionists are of a different breed. . . ."

British novelist Anthony Burgess told *Newsweek*: "I see a fundamental change in [British workers]. They are less tolerant, good-mannered or willing to make the system work."

Ignoring the fact that the vast majority of the British population are workers, the capitalist press is trying to create the impression that the strikers' cause is extremely unpopular.

Columnist Jenkins, however, adds a note of caution on this score: "It is important to bear in mind that the public's fervid dislike of trade unionism coexists with a recruitment boom and the militant pursuit of higher

wages by a broad section of the community."

The press and government officials have also resorted to radical-baiting in hopes of discrediting the strikers. They have zeroed in on the militant tactics used by workers. Central to the truck drivers' success, for example, was their use of flying picket squads to shut down warehouses, ports, and factories not being struck. This tactic was also decisive in the 1974 victory by British coal miners.

Commenting on this "aggressive picketing," the *Guardian's* Jenkins writes: "This new style of trade unionism derives also from the discovery of new weapons." ". . . workers have awakened to the power within their hands. . . ."

Many Conservative Party politicians and publications such as the financial weekly *The Economist* are urging a ban on this so-called secondary picketing. They are also calling for other antilabor measures, such as a ban on the union shop and on certain public sector strikes.

Callaghan's Labour Party government has resisted these proposals so

far, fearing that they would provoke even bigger class battles.

With union officials under tremendous pressure from the membership, Callaghan has also failed in his efforts to patch up the "social contract" and get strikers back on the job.

Many workers were understandably furious at Callaghan's remark to Parliament during the trucking strike that, "I would not hesitate to cross a picket line if I thought it right to do so."

The leadership default by top union officials and Callaghan's strikebreaking statements have undoubtedly sparked heated discussions on the picket lines. Workers want to know how they can build a leadership in the unions and in the Labour Party that acts in their interests, rather than hatching wage control schemes to help out the employers.

American workers, too, are fed up with seeing their paychecks shrink so that profits can expand. In resisting Carter's 7 percent guidelines, they can take heart from the example set by the British workers.

And that has American employers

worried. As a headline in the *U.S. News & World Report* put it: "If America goes the way of Britain . . ."

Labor's Giant Step

by Art Preiss

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Campaign to save his life

Date set for Marroquin deportation trial

By Roger Rudenstein

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has set April 3 as the date for Héctor Marroquín's deportation hearing. On that day Marroquín will appear at an INS office in Houston, Texas, to present his case for political asylum in the United States.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is on an emergency campaign to raise funds to fly in witnesses for the hearing and to mobilize public pressure against the INS. Plans are being laid for benefits, rallies, and demonstrations at the hearing site and across the country.

Marroquín is a trade unionist and socialist who fled here in 1974 after being framed by Mexican authorities on charges of "terrorism" and "subversion." Deportation to Mexico would almost certainly be his death sentence.

Despite its "human rights" rhetoric, the Carter administration is opposed to letting Marroquín stay in this country. The INS has turned down his petition for asylum.

The next step is the deportation hearing.

Deportation hearings are run like

trials. There is a defense lawyer, and a prosecuting attorney appointed by the INS. The INS also appoints the judge.

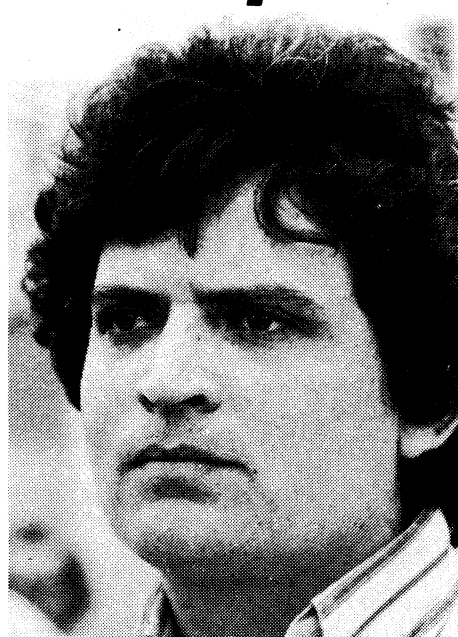
The purpose of these hearings is to provide a legal cover for *la migra's* "justice"—kicking out undocumented workers and political refugees from countries whose regimes are friendly to Washington.

The usual length of deportation hearings is several hours. In Marroquín's case, however, the INS is in for a shock.

Marroquín is coming to the hearing with a whole range of witnesses and evidence that make an airtight case for political asylum. The hearing is expected to last four full days.

Marroquín's attorneys also got the INS to agree to provide space at the hearing for reporters and for Marroquín's supporters to view the proceedings. Usually hearings are held in a tiny room, just big enough for a few people.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is trying to raise more than \$15,000 to fund an expanded publicity drive and to pay the transportation



Militant/Della Rossa
MARROQUIN: Will bring witnesses to prove his innocence.

costs of witnesses. Among those who have agreed to testify is the International League for Human Rights, a

prestigious human rights group. Amnesty International is sending an observer and a sworn statement in support of Marroquín. The National Education Association is sending an official to testify.

Also coming to the hearing is Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, a leader of the human rights movement in Mexico. Several other Mexican witnesses are going to testify, both to corroborate Marroquín's story of his frame-up and to give firsthand accounts of the brutal repression there.

The defense is subpoenaing several Mexican police chiefs and FBI officials who were involved in disrupting the student movement in Mexico.

Letters and telegrams demanding asylum for Marroquín should be sent to: Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington D.C. 20536.

Contributions, copies of protest messages, and requests for information and materials should be sent to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. (212) 691-3587.

'Grant asylum to Hector Marroquin!'

The following are excerpts from letters sent to Leonel Castillo, head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, as part of the emergency campaign for asylum for Héctor Marroquín. They were released to the news media by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

The National Education Association (NEA) is an organization representing about 1.8 million teachers in the United States. In our previous letter to Vice-President Mondale and to you, NEA asked that Héctor Marroquín be granted political asylum because of the possibility of political reprisals if he were tried in Mexico and because, according to the Department of State, the U.S. accepts refugees "to express America's deep seated humanitarian tradition and to show a concern for the homeless and persecuted" and "to help restore the refugees to human rights that they have been denied in their own lands."

The National Education Association urges that Héctor Marroquín be

granted political asylum in the United States.

*Terry Herndon, Executive Director
John Ryor, President*

One of the principles upon which this country was founded happens to include freedom from political repression. True, the U.S. government has made a mockery of this principle by its treatment of its own dissident political activists such as the Charlotte 3, Wilmington 10, and the RNA 11. But Héctor Marroquín should not have to be sent back to certain death and torture in Mexico because the INS disagrees with his politics.

Jim Grant, Charlotte 3 defendant

... we once again join with humanitarians across the U.S. in demanding political asylum be granted now.

*United Paperworkers International
Union Local 832, Cincinnati, Ohio*

We reviewed the facts of [Marroquín's] case and the charges of murder, assault and "subversion" leveled against him by the Mexican government. In view of the over-

whelming evidence of his innocence, we must conclude that these frame-up charges are an effort to victimize Marroquín because of his political views.

Marroquín's fight is the fight of all members of the academic community for the elementary right to freedom of speech and freedom of political activity. A victory for Marroquín will be a victory for human rights everywhere.

Executive board, United States Student Association

We are outraged at the order for deportation for Héctor Marroquín. We demand asylum. His case [is] documented by Amnesty International and International League of Human Rights.

*Victoria Zúñiga, Hermanas
Gertrude Barnstone, Democratic Party
Isaiah Lovings, NAACP (Houston)*

Carter offers asylum to shah. Why not Marroquín?

Father José Lara, pastor, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church

*Phil Herrera, president, Independent Municipal Employees Federation
Orlando W. Martínez
Abelardo Delgado, assistant director, Colorado Migrant Council (Denver)*

We call upon you to give political asylum to Héctor Marroquín whose life is in danger because of your attitude.

Philosophy Department, University of Québec, Montreal

The Coalition Against Investments in South Africa at the University of Delaware (CAISA) is writing this to protest against the outrageous decision of the INS.

Why are people from countries deemed "enemies" of the U.S. allowed asylum, while people from countries deemed "friends" are not?

For the U.S. to allow [Marroquín] to be deported and killed would be a crime against humanity and the whole world will judge the U.S. government and the INS accordingly.

Charge dropped against socialist campaigner

By Jim Altenberg

DENVER—Bowing to widespread pressure, the University of Southern Colorado (USC) in Pueblo has backed off its attempt to jail a socialist campaign worker for passing out a flyer on the campus.

University officials, in a January 25 letter to Steve Marshall's attorney, proposed to drop all charges against the twenty-six-year-old welding student.

Apparently feeling the heat generated by a broad civil liberties campaign waged in Marshall's defense, the university administrators asked that the matter "be concluded as quickly and quietly as feasible."

Marshall, press secretary to Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Elsa Blum in last fall's election, was distributing campaign material at



Militant/Jim Altenberg
MARSHALL: Scores a victory for civil liberties.

USC on October 11. He was in the lobby of a public building, outside the room where a debate between the Democratic and Republican candidates was scheduled to begin shortly, when a campus cop arrested and handcuffed him.

Marshall was charged with disorderly conduct and ordered to stand trial in Pueblo on April 2. The charge carries a six-month jail sentence.

Supporters of civil liberties protested the arrest. USC students organized a free speech rally soon afterward. The American Civil Liberties Union offered its support. Dozens of telegrams began pouring into the offices of the university president and the local district attorney asking that charges be dropped.

The state directors of the ACLU and Colorado Civil Rights Commission,

along with the president of the Central Denver chapter of the National Organization for Women, joined Marshall at a news conference to demand dismissal of the charge against him.

Upon receiving word of the university's retreat, Marshall told the *Militant*, "I agree with the USC administration that this should be settled quickly—but not quietly."

"We're going to publicize this victory, because it demonstrates the wide support for free speech that exists on campuses and in the communities."

"And secondly, this case sets a good example of *how* to defend our rights—by uniting everyone, regardless of our differences on other questions, in a campaign for the right to hold and discuss various political opinions—the right to free speech."

Why Carter is going to Mexico

Oil, oil, and more oil

The following article has been excerpted from 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine. It was translated for the 'Militant' by Anne Teesdale.

By Aníbal Vargas

President Carter will travel to Mexico February 14 with a single goal in mind—to advance the interests of American imperialism. He will try to bully his junior partners, President José López Portillo and the Mexican bourgeoisie, into lining up behind Washington's bid to control that country's recently discovered oil wealth.

Forbes magazine, the self-proclaimed "Capitalist Tool," warned in its January 22 issue that Petróleos Mexicanos (PEMEX), the state-owned oil company, has already obtained bank loans from such competitors of the U.S. as France (US\$200 million) and Japan (\$1 billion).

Last October it was announced that an agreement was in the works to sell Japan 20 percent of future Mexican oil exports. In exchange, the Japanese would construct a supertanker port on Mexico's west coast and help with the construction of a new steel mill. The French reached an agreement in December to buy 10 percent of Mexican oil exports. They, in turn, will help Mexico develop its uranium deposits.

These are alarm signals for the U.S. imperialists. Carter's trip will seek to put a brake on López Portillo's "independent" stance and assure him that Washington is still his best boss.

What is at stake for the imperialists in Mexico?

Oil and gas reserves

Mexico has proven oil and natural gas reserves equivalent to 40.194 billion barrels and probable reserves of 44.612 billion. Potential reserves have been calculated at 200 billion barrels. Mexico ranks sixth in proven oil reserves after the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia, Iran, the U.S., and Kuwait.

Obviously, as a columnist for the Mexican daily *Excelsior* pointed out, "During his visit . . . U.S. President James Carter will press for assurances that our northern neighbor be given preferential access to our energy reserves." The columnist added that "in the second place, Carter will pressure for PEMEX to raise its capacity in order to regularly meet U.S. oil demands. While President José López Portillo has set production figures for 1980 at 2.25 million barrels a day, Washington specialists calculate that in that year . . . we can reach at least 4 million barrels a day."

If Washington gets its way, a large portion of that production, at least 60 percent, will end up in U.S. stockpiles. This would advance the U.S. imperialists' attempts to control all sources of raw materials—not for fear of scarcity, but rather to increase their political and military weight in the world market and in interimperialist rivalries.

In addition, such reserves in Washington's hands would be a formidable weapon against the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which the Mexican government has refused to join.

Petrodollars

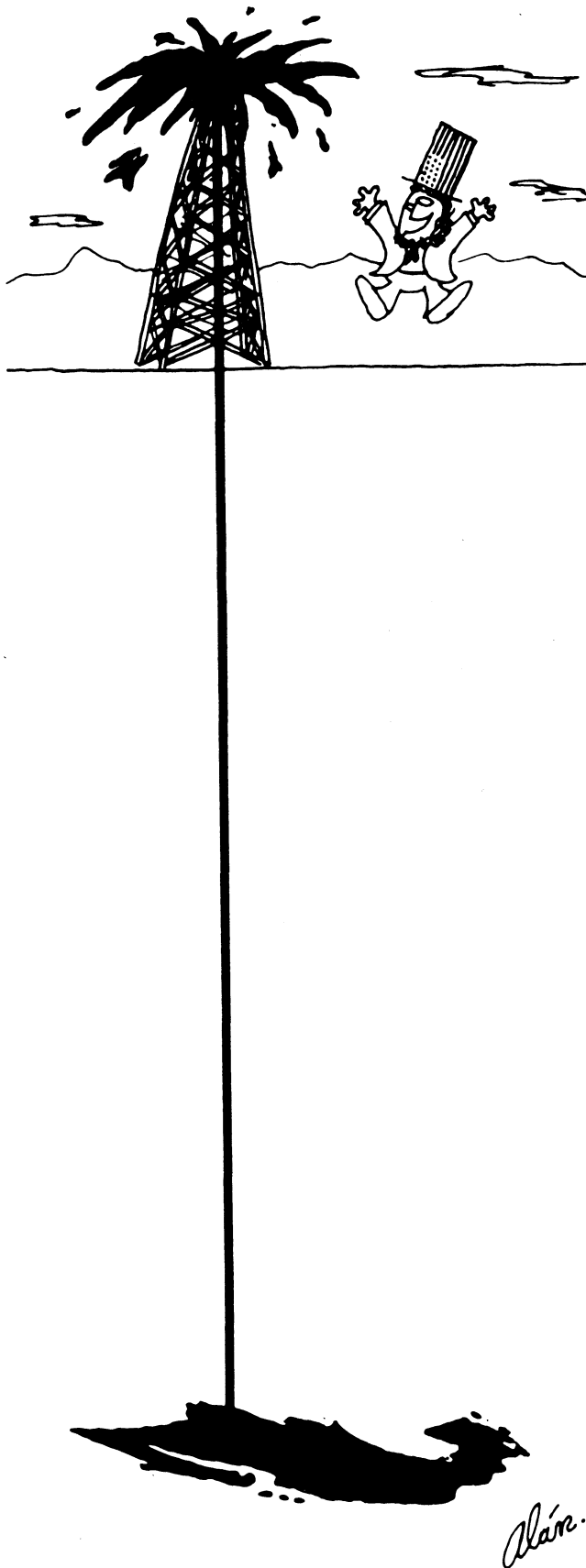
Of course, López Portillo has his own reasons for not agreeing to a super-rapid exploitation of oil. He is afraid that a sudden flood of petrodollars could further destabilize the Mexican economy and explode all its social and political tensions. Surely the Mexican government is observing with misgivings the events in Iran.

According to high officials in the U.S. State Department, a serious problem is that Mexico lacks the technical capacity to achieve high production levels. But these arguments only seek to provide an excuse for the massive penetration of the big imperialist oil companies in a key sector of the Mexican economy.

Other sources can be cited in response to the State Department. The January 15 issue of *Business Week* points out that "Pemex, having operated for 40 years as a medium-size integrated oil company, should have no great difficulty in developing its discoveries. . . ."

At bottom it is not a question of whether Mexico can or cannot develop its oil resources. The question is whether it is in Mexico's interests, as a semicolonial country, to produce oil and natural gas according to the dictates of its imperialist neighbor.

Carter will no doubt pressure López Portillo with the question of Mexican workers in the U.S. during his secret discussions with the Mexican president.



Carter may also dangle the bait of granting certain concessions in terms of allowing Mexican products greater access to the U.S. market.

As *Bandera Socialista*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT—Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores), points out, these discussions should take place in full view of the Mexican people, since it is their interests that are at stake.

Undocumented workers

Besides, with so much oil, Mexico could demand its own "maximum program." First, an open border for the passage of Mexican workers who want to seek work in the U.S. It could demand an end to tariff barriers for all Mexican products, not only agricultural produce, but also industrial goods. And it could demand long-term, interest-free loans to facilitate development of its oil resources.

Mexico has every right to develop its own energy policy, including the right to demand a just price for its oil and natural gas, without pressure of any kind from Washington. The imperialists' implied threats against Mexico should be denounced. U.S. working people should unconditionally support the Mexican peoples' defense of the nationalized oil industry, which is a conquest won through mass workers and peasants struggles in 1938.

Nationalized industry

Recalling that expropriation, we see that the argument that the Mexicans cannot develop their own resources is nothing new. The imperialists said the same thing in 1938, and the Mexican oil workers

showed them that they certainly could.

What really sticks in the throat of the Carter administration is that PEMEX remains a nationalized industry and so cannot be exploited so easily by imperialism. This is why Mexican working people and their allies in the U.S. working class have to be more ready than ever to defend this gain against the greed of the imperialists, whom Carter represents. It's necessary to defend and insist upon Mexico's right to develop its own energy policy based on its own needs.

But for the present Mexican government, the country's needs involve fostering the development of industry, of the private sector, and of big business, which is controlled by the imperialists.

With the oil boom, and encouraged by López Portillo, General Motors, Chrysler, Volkswagen, PepsiCo, and many other U.S., Japanese, and European companies have announced increases in their investments in Mexico. Thus, the Mexican government's priority is not to raise the masses' standard of living; they see this as something secondary, which, they say, will be the by-product of the growth of capitalism in Mexico.

In reality, however, these investments will tend to further increase Mexico's dependence on world imperialism. This in turn will lead to an even greater superexploitation of Mexican working people and to the pauperization of the masses.

The present state of massive unemployment and poverty in Mexico's countryside and urban areas is precisely the result of dependent capitalist development during the Mexican "economic miracle" of the 1950s and 1960s.

No to Carter!

Bandera Socialista points out that "for many years Mexican workers have demonstrated their anti-imperialist consciousness. . . . The PRT thinks it is necessary to carry out a day of protest against Carter's visit. We should mobilize to show that Mexican workers do not welcome the representative of the imperialist system. We should demonstrate not only against the energy policy being carried out by the Mexican government, but also against all imperialist intervention in our country."

The Mexican socialists add, "We must also denounce the policy followed by imperialism in Iran and Nicaragua. We must pay a lot of attention to the events in Iran. . . . Our slogans should be: For public negotiations, no secret deals between Carter and López Portillo; Down with Carter, murderer of the Iranian and Nicaraguan people; Oil workers, not corrupt bureaucrats, should control PEMEX; Let's organize a demonstration to denounce Carter!"

U.S. working people should totally solidarize with this struggle.

New from Pathfinder

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by Hugo Blanco



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Interview with South African revolutionary socialists

The following is an interview with a group of South African revolutionists. It was obtained in Gaborone, Botswana, in December by Ernest Harsch.

Question. How would you characterize South African society?

Answer. The South African situation is basically a colonial situation. It differs from traditional colonialism in that the colonizer has cut off ties with the mother country and established a settler regime, an imperialist baby, an overseer, a policeman of Western imperialism in southern Africa. Just like Israel in the Middle East.

The class nature of the South African situation is veiled by acute racism by legislation in the country. The white bourgeoisie in power has given all privileges to the white society, so much so that the white worker does not see himself as exploited and therefore supposed to align himself with the Black worker to bring down capitalism.

It is the Black working class that

carries the burden of history. It is on the shoulders of this class that the wheels of industry lie. This is the class that is the mainstay of the socialist revolution in South Africa. The mobilization of this class is a necessity and it would be a dream to think of bringing down the South African racist regime without the greatest role being played by this class. In fact, the socialist revolution must be led by a working class party.

Q. How does the ruling class seek to control the Black workers?

A. It is out of the realization of the power of the Black worker as a representative of the entire oppressed population that the white ruling class has devised various laws aimed at scattering and weakening all forms of struggle by the Black worker.

There is the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956, which legislated nonrecognition of Black trade unions, and even banned them from making political contributions.

There are the works and liaison



'The Black working class carries the burden of history'

committees registered in terms of the Bantu Labour Regulations Act of 1973. This act sets conditions of employment and the settlement of grievances of Black African workers. To ensure the perpetual oppression of Black workers there is provision for three kinds of

committees for "representing" African workers: the works committees, which existed before and were changed only in name and not much used; the coordinating works committees, which are supposed to coordinate the activities

Continued on next page

On eve of tour, Dixon hits Rhodesia vote

By Bob Schwarz

On the eve of a national speaking tour, Socialist Workers Party leader Maceo Dixon denounced the recent constitutional referendum in Rhodesia as "a racist fraud designed to take the heat off the illegal Ian Smith regime."

Dixon, a member of the SWP Political Committee who recently returned from a two-month fact-finding tour of six African countries, denied the vote would lead to any measure of Black majority rule in Zimbabwe.

"You can't call it Black majority rule," he said, "when the new constitution is approved by whites only, when nearly one-third of the new legislature will be reserved for whites, who are less than 4 percent of the population."

"The Carter administration,"



DIXON

Dixon added, "is dissatisfied with this plan not because they want genuine majority rule, but because they don't think the Smith plan is going to fool anyone. They just want a more acceptable neocolonial solution."

During his three-month tour, Dixon's talk is titled "Report from Southern Africa: The Struggle for Liberation; What Americans Can Do to Support It."

He will describe his visits to some of the centers of the liberation struggle, including a refugee and training camp in Zambia of the South West African People's Organization. He also visited the external headquarters of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) in Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and was able to meet with exiles from South Africa living in several countries.

"Wherever I went," says Dixon, "Zambia, Kenya, Botswana, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania . . . the message was always the same from the

liberation fighters to the people in the streets of this country: Get the United States off our backs and out of our country!"

Part of Dixon's speaking tour is an extensive slide show depicting how imperialism and colonialism have maintained their domination in Africa.

"The average American has no idea how desperate the conditions in these countries are," he says, "and how deeply the United States is involved in their exploitation and oppression."

Dixon, a former auto worker, has been active in the movement in solidarity with the African freedom fighters for many years. In 1972, he was one of the Detroit organizers for the May 27 African Liberation Day national demonstration in Washington, D.C. That action drew 30,000.

Dixon also helped found the Black Moratorium Committee Against the War, an anti-Vietnam War group, and was one of the leaders of the

Coalition to Abolish STRESS, an anti-police-brutality group that helped force the Detroit city administration to disband a police murder squad in 1974.

In 1973, Dixon ran on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for mayor of Detroit. In 1975 he moved to Boston to help organize opposition to the racist, antibusing movement in that city. He was founder and national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Since 1978 he has coordinated the SWP's work in the Black liberation movement.

Dixon's tour will begin February 11 in the Seattle-Tacoma area. From February 15-17 he will be in Portland and from February 19-21 in the San Francisco Bay Area.

For more information on the tour, contact: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 242-7654.

...S. Africa

Continued from preceding page
and representations of African workers in establishments having more than one works committee; and the liaison committees.

The works committees: All their members are to be elected by the workers. The liaison committees: one half of the members plus the chairman are to be appointed by the management and the other half by the workers. With neither committee do the employers bind themselves by way of a constitution or agreement to any obligation or demand by the workers.

Oppressive laws

Then there are the pass laws, vagrancy laws, and influx and efflux laws, under which the Black worker finds himself in a position where he cannot bargain even for better working conditions or better wages. In short, he cannot bargain for the improvement of social conditions. That is why there are so many trials of people who have gone out on strike, because striking by Black workers has been made illegal.

When a worker leaves his place of employment he has to report to the authorities, and he has to keep on doing so until he has found employment again, and then he has to be registered on doing so.

Black trade unions are not recognized. If a Black worker belongs to a union that is affiliated to a white-controlled trade union he cannot hope that his interests will be looked into, because he is not allowed to serve on the executive committees; these unions, moreover, are there to look into the interests of the white worker.

In short, this is how the jackboot of the ruling class is kept on the face of the Black worker, to keep him lying prostrate.

Q. What other classes are there in South Africa?

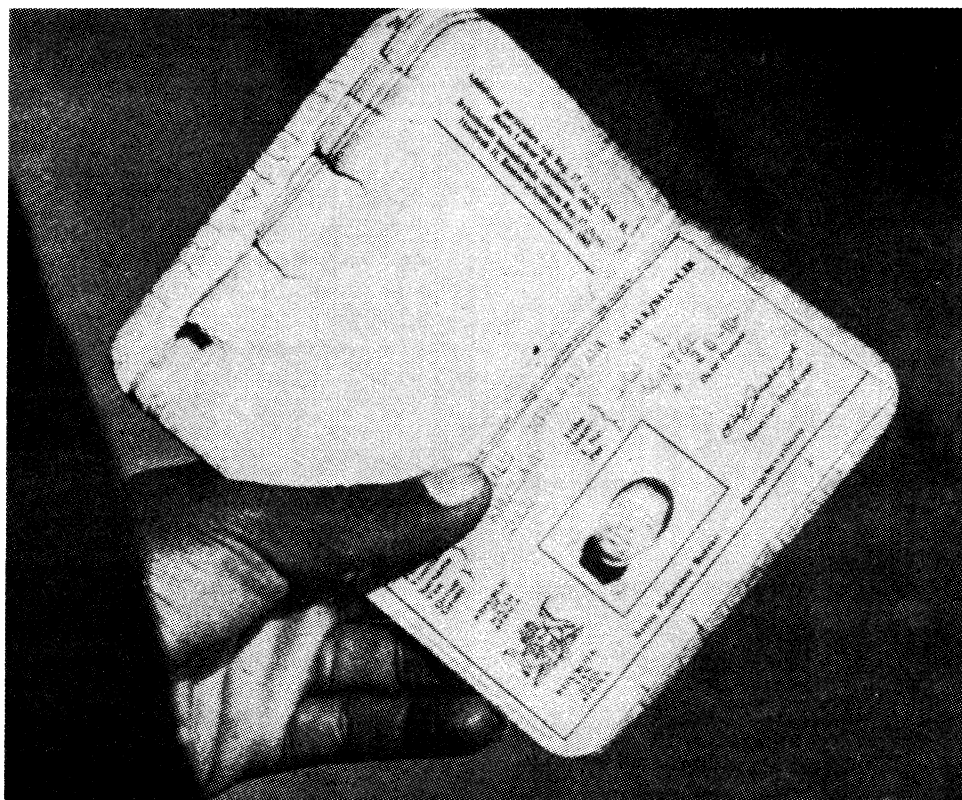
A. There is the Black petty bourgeoisie, a creation of the white ruling bourgeoisie. It acts as a buffer against the revolution. These are the stooges through which the white settler regime is able to maintain control over the Black people. They confuse the Black masses in various ways. This is evidenced by the actions of the Lucas Mangopes, the Kaiser Matanzimas, the Sam Motsuenyanes, and the George Thabes.¹

The peasant, in the widely understood sense of the word, does not exist in South Africa. The rural dweller (who is usually taken to be a "peasant"), does not own land and is most of the time working in the urban areas—in the mines or in the factories—as a migrant laborer. And when he is in the rural areas he is exploited by the white landowners, the farmers, as a farm laborer.

Q. How does the regime's Bantustan policy fit into this system of social control?

A. The white regime, refusing to share political power with the Black majority, had to extend and improvise on the divisive tactics of Britain, the former colonial power, so as to be able to maintain political power with all its privileges.

The Bantustans were created as labor reservoirs, since these Bantus-



Pass books are used to control movement of Blacks inside South Africa

tans are void of any economic viability. Agricultural production is impossible in these arid regions and there is no industrial development.

They were also created to frustrate the continually growing Black nationalism, cemented by the development of industry, which, through urbanization, has done away with ethnic division. The Bantustans are supposed to create an illusion of freedom for the Black man, hence the seemingly large following by backward, tribalistic, and mostly illiterate people behind Inkatha, the ethnic, so-called Cultural Liberation Movement led by Gatsha Buthelezi.²

Q. What, in your opinion, is the relationship between the class and national liberation struggles in South Africa?

'A class struggle'

A. our struggle is a class struggle, and the national democratic revolution is a phase in the socialist revolution, which is to be led by the workers.

By this, we do not mean that there are two distinct phases, the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. It is because of the nature of the society in South Africa, as we have just analyzed it, that one will lead to the other. In fact, the national democratic phase is a transitional

stage of the socialist revolution.

Q. What kind of impact has the Black Consciousness movement had on the struggle?

A. The Black Consciousness movement was a historical milestone in our struggle for liberation. It emerged to fill the vacuum of leadership created by the vicious onslaught against the ANC and PAC by the system and the incarceration of the leaders of the two movements.³ The unity created by the Black Consciousness movement among the Black groups (Coloureds, Indians, and Africans), especially among students and intellectuals, cannot be overemphasized.

The Black Consciousness movement terribly frustrated many maneuvers of the system, especially the Bantustan policy. The impact of the Black Consciousness movement was best seen in the 1976 upsurge.

Q. What is your assessment of the Soweto uprisings?

A. Beginning in 1972, there had been a wave of strikes throughout the country in almost all industries—bus workers, mine workers, workers in the sugar industry and in various factories—which greatly crippled the economy. These strikes showed the



Uprising in Soweto in 1976 showed political radicalization among South African Blacks.

power of the worker in South Africa.

These strikes showed the discontent among the Black people with the system. The upsurge that began on June 16, 1976, was just part of the rising revolutionary tide hitting the country at the time.

The uprisings were spontaneous in so far as they were hitting a point at issue, the Afrikaans issue.⁴ But a closer look at all these seemingly spontaneous upsurges (the strikes, the station demonstrations, the June 16 actions) shows a life-long discontent and a political consciousness, which was greatly contributed to by the Black Consciousness movement.

The strikes themselves should also be seen as an offshoot of the economic and political crisis of the South African capitalist system.

Q. You mentioned the ANC and PAC, which were driven underground and into exile in the 1960s. What do you think of the strategies they are now following?

A. We do not know the strategies of the ANC and PAC. Their formation was a historical necessity. As political organizations, they have a right to exist. There is a need for a broad anti-imperialist national front.

Q. What do you think of the South African Communist Party?

A. A communist party should be a vanguard of the revolution. This is a necessary condition for its existence. It should be based among the struggling masses, give direction to the day-to-day struggles against capitalism, coordinate the upsurges by the masses, and give them direction.

Such a vanguard is missing in the South African struggle, hence the failure of the 1976 uprisings to take a proper revolutionary direction. It is no secret that our struggle has historically been led by petty-bourgeois intellectuals who most of the time have been interested in reforms and concessions.

There is therefore a dire need for the formation of such a vanguard in South Africa to lead the revolution.

Q. Some South African organizations, the ANC and PAC most prominently, advocate guerrilla warfare against the white supremacist state as a strategy for the liberation struggle. What do you think of this concept of guerrilla warfare as a strategy? And in what context do you view armed struggle in general?

A. The nature of the South African regime is such that even a nonviolent demonstration is violently suppressed. So armed revolution against the enemy is a necessity if people are to take political and therefore economic power.

Guerrilla warfare is a tactic to this end. But it should be noted that guerrilla warfare can never be successful without mass political mobilization. Vietnam is a good example of this historical truth.

Q. How do you see the masses being mobilized, around what immediate issues?

Issues of struggle

A. There are many day-to-day issues through which the masses in South Africa can be mobilized. All of these are political and economic issues coming up because of the economic and

1. Lucas Mangope and Kaiser Matanzima are the figureheads of the BophuthaTswana and Transkei reserves, respectively. Sam Motsuenyane is president of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce. George Thabe, a prominent collaborator with the apartheid regime in sports, is president of the South African National Football Association.—IP/I

2. Gatsha Buthelezi is "chief minister" of the KwaZulu Bantustan.—IP/I

3. The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress were outlawed by the South African regime in 1960.—IP/I

4. The initial student demonstrations in Soweto on June 16, 1976, were in response to a government ruling imposing the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in at least half the courses in African secondary schools. Afrikaans, which is spoken by the Afrikaner section of the white population, is viewed by Africans as the language of the police, courts, and government administration.—IP/I

political crisis of the capitalist system. We can mention the rising cost of living, the recently imposed general sales tax, low wages, evictions, the migrant labor system, the influx and efflux control laws, and most of all the unemployment of the majority of the people.

Q. How do you think revolutionists should fight for leadership of the national liberation struggle?

A. Revolutionaries have the task of educating the masses and analyzing the day-to-day issues that come up, such as those we just mentioned. They have to forge greater unity among workers, students, and intellectuals. They have to form a vanguard party, which will be mass-based so as to avoid bureaucratic tendencies by allowing free participation and discussion by the masses. It must be guided by Marxism-Leninism and strive for socialist goals.

Q. What role will the liberation of women play in the struggle?

A. The liberation of the Black people

They have banned and jailed leaders of the Black movement. The wave of political trials throughout the country is aimed at intimidating the Black masses from participating in the liberation struggle.

The authorities have speeded up the so-called independence of the Bantustans, while opening up formerly "white only" theaters and hotels to Black people, pouring millions into their confusing sports policies, and launching reactionary magazines aimed at Black readerships—such as *Pace*—which adulterate Black consciousness and show Blacks who have "made it" within the system, like *Ebony* magazine in the United States.

They are creating a bigger Black petty bourgeoisie for reasons of putting a brake on the revolution. They have changed some names, such as "Bantu" to "Black." And they have opened up corrupt night clubs and "fun fairs," bringing celebrated Black American musicians and sportsmen to South Africa at a rate never before seen.

Q. What do they hope to accomplish by bringing in more Black Americans?



Black worker in segregated canteen at Goodyear plant in South Africa. U.S. corporations perpetuate segregation fostered by apartheid regime.

of South Africa—which ipso facto is the liberation of the workers of South Africa—cannot be true liberation without the liberation of women. Therefore the participation of women in the political and economic struggle, in a nutshell the liberation struggle, is a necessary and most important condition. Especially since the woman suffers double exploitation and oppression, both as a result of backward traditions and through capitalist exploitation.

Q. What do you think of the white workers?

A. The white worker, as we stated before, enjoys privileges that hide his class position. This distracts him from his role of uniting with the Black worker to bring down capitalism.

This must be very frustrating to the white revolutionary. The Black camp is going to view him with suspicion. And he will be seen as mad by the white worker, who at the moment is not aware of his role.

But as the Black struggle gains momentum, the white worker will surely come to realize his role as a class ally of the Black worker.

Ruling-class strategy

Q. What kind of strategy has the ruling class adopted to contain the situation, in the aftermath of the Soweto events?

A. The strategy of the white ruling class is still the same as before. Only its tactics have been improvised.

Like before, they have banned all progressive organizations—along with some reactionary organizations, like the ASSECA,⁵ to cause confusion.

A. By bringing in more Black artists and sportsmen, mostly Americans, the regime hopes to gain international recognition by creating an impression that it has lifted the much-cried-about apartheid. Secondly, it hopes to appease and lull the Black people, whose revolutionary spirit the regime so much fears. It also hopes to divert the attention of the Black people from the burning issues and promise them pie in the sky with these "reforms."

We must note here that these artists are really setting our struggle back. They are dealing our struggle a dirty blow by giving respectability to these dirty maneuvers by the system. They are guilty of a serious crime.

One should also note the role played here by the reactionary World Boxing Association, which has two South Africans on its council. One of them is Justice Klobber, who after sentencing our people to death goes on to serve on their council. That is why we find a person like Kallie Kloetzel⁶ being rated No. 2 without fight: any notable tournaments.

Q. What impact will the struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia have on that in South Africa itself?

International struggles

A. The struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia are closely followed by the Black people in South Africa, especially since the fall of the white regime in Rhodesia means the inevitable fall of the South African regime.

There is no need for us to here analyze the situations in those countries, in terms of the parties and move-

Continued on next page

World news notes

New human rights group in Latin America

Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez has announced the formation of "Habeas," a foundation that will seek to aid victims of political repression in Latin America.

Habeas's founding declaration, issued December 21 in Mexico City, declared that Latin America is "an area outrageously dominated by insecurity, persecution, violation of civil guarantees, grossly arbitrary acts, humiliation, and the degradation of human dignity."

The statement called for a "powerful campaign of solidarity with the Latin American peoples that are suffering tyranny, barbarity, and the denial of their essential human rights."

Besides García Márquez, a number of other prominent Latin American artists are supporters of the new group. The widows of ex-presidents Juan José Torres of Bolivia and Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico have also expressed their support, as have Rodrigo Carazo and Aristides Royo, the heads of state of Costa Rica and Panama, and Michael Manley, Jamaican prime minister.

Crackdown in Colombia

More than 2,400 people have been jailed by the Turbay Ayala regime in Colombia during an "antiterrorist" dragnet that began January 16. Five hundred of these prisoners are being held without charge in military barracks; many have been tortured.

The dragnet was carried out under the draconian Article 28 of the Constitution, which permits detention without trial and suspends the right of habeas corpus. On January 11, Turbay decreed that people sentenced for "political" offenses would be taken to the sinister island-prison of Gorgona off the Pacific coast.

The pretext for the crackdown was the December 31 theft of weapons from an army barracks in Bogotá. Most of the weapons were recovered in army raids January 16.

Letters and telegrams demanding an immediate halt to the torture and repression, and calling for due process of law and the release of all the prisoners, should be sent to Colombian embassies or to Julio César Turbay Ayala, Presidente de la República, Bogotá, Colombia.

Israel cracks down on Arab protests

Acting under emergency regulations drawn up during British colonial rule, the Israeli army issued an order January 26 against six Palestinian students at Jerusalem's Hebrew University.

The six students, all Israeli citizens, were ordered to leave the university, report to a police station twice daily, and remain at home during evenings. Their "crime" was circulating a leaflet stating their support for the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Such administrative orders are used by the Israeli government to avoid the inconvenience of having to present proof of guilt at a civilian trial.

Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan denounced the students for trying to exercise their democratic rights. Referring to their statement, and to a statement of support for the PLO from more than half the Arab village councils in Israel, Dayan said, "If they will not be satisfied and if they don't want to live together with us, then they will have to pay for it very dearly."

Dayan, threatening to exile supporters of the PLO, reminded his audience of "what happened with the Arab people" in 1948, when 700,000 Palestinians were expelled from their homes.

The Progressive Nationalist Movement, the group to which the six victimized students belong, replied that their statement had not advocated terrorist action, and that they were completely within their constitutional rights in issuing it.

W. Germany 'eases' loyalty checks

The West German government has announced cosmetic changes in the loyalty investigation to which public service employees are subjected.

The practice of *Berufsverbote*—barring of political dissidents from public office—has a long history in West Germany. By a decision of the federal government in 1950, government employees were prohibited from belonging to thirteen specific organizations. Since the passage of the Decision against Extremists in 1972, this practice has intensified.

Exposure of *Berufsverbote* by the Bertrand Russell Tribunal last year, along with other protests, has undermined Bonn's democratic facade.

Meanwhile, German capitalism also faces growing labor unrest, exemplified by the recent massive steel strike.

These were the real considerations behind Bonn's announcement that blanket investigations of everyone applying for national employment were the "wrong answer." However, they stated, investigations would still be initiated when there were "tangible grounds."

The gesture is unlikely to dispel the growing distrust of the government among young people of Germany. The January 19 *New York Times* reported, "One poll of students last year showed that in a decade there had been a doubling of the number of those who thought the Constitution was being used in an increasingly reactionary and authoritarian way."

—Peter Archer

5. Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of African People of South Africa.—IP/I

6. A white South African heavyweight boxer, who as a policeman shot a young Black demonstrator in 1977.—IP/I

...S. Africa

Continued from preceding page

ments involved. But we do not support reaction as manifested by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia and the bogus elections, nor the internal confusion in Rhodesia and the tricks of Britain and America there.

But majority rule in those countries will without doubt fill the Black people of South Africa with new revolutionary zeal and determination, just as we saw in 1974 after the fall of the fascist Caetano clique [in Portugal], the pro-Frelimo rallies and their aftermath,⁷ and the events in Angola. The Black people fully identified with the Angolan masses and openly supported the MPLA⁸ and the role played by the Cuban brothers there. This was a subject of discussion everywhere, in homes, trains, buses, and places of work during lunchtime, let alone in schools and universities.

Q. How do Blacks in South Africa view upsurges like those in Iran and elsewhere?

A. Upsurges like those in Iran, the Middle East, and Latin America get very little publicity in the country, when they are at all reported, so that they go almost unnoticed at times. Also there is a lack of understanding of situations in those places.

But one can note that events in Iran will certainly have an impact in our country, since Iran is the main supplier of oil to the South African regime. It is inevitable that the people in our country will come to know more about the struggle in Iran in particular because the crisis there will cause a crisis in South Africa. This fact was best illustrated during the "embargo" period after the Middle East war. Even taxi drivers supported the oil embargo against South Africa, even though their small sources of livelihood were threatened with collapse after the announcement that there would be petrol rationing.

Q. Certain African regimes claim to be building "socialism," or to have already built it. I'm thinking here of regimes like those in Tanzania, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Somalia, and so on. What do you think of such claims?

A. There is only one kind of socialism: scientific socialism as was propounded by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Because of world industrialization, there can be no other type of socialism.

The existence of "socialism" in Africa is but capitalism in disguise. It is just a tendency by neocolonial regimes to proclaim everything socialism so as to confuse the masses and thus prolong their plunder.

There has never been anything like the Cuban revolution in Africa, or the building of people's power and democracy and the arming of the people to defend the gains of the revolution.

But we should guard against the danger of dogmatically dismissing efforts of revolutionaries, especially in the former Portuguese colonies, of trying to create new societies amid a sea of reactionary neighbors. If not so,

7. In September 1974, the Black People's Convention and the South African Students Organisation (two of the main Black Consciousness groups) organized rallies in Durban and at the University of the North at Turfloop in support of the liberation struggle in neighboring Mozambique, led by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo—Mozambique Liberation Front).—IP/I

8. Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).—IP/I



Militant/Ernest Harsch

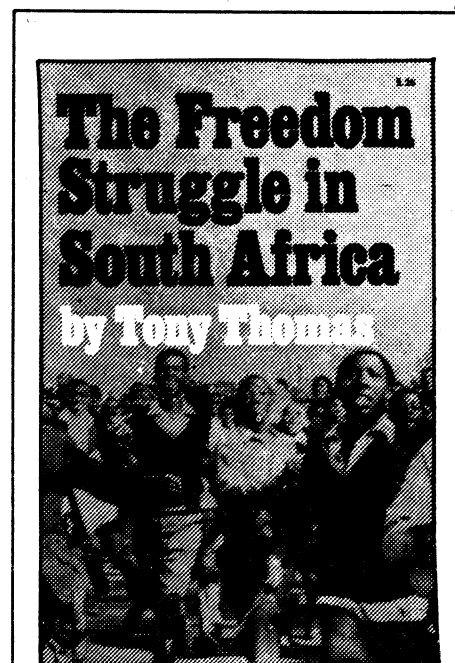
Black workers are forced into miserable, subhuman living conditions such as this squatters town at Crossroads.

then we shall commit mistakes similar to those committed by the Mensheviks, or other reactionaries who attacked the Bolsheviks for implementing the then-necessary New Economic Policy.

Q. What role do you think Cuban troops have played in Africa? And how do Blacks in South Africa feel about it?

A. Though this is now a different question as far as the Eritrea situation is concerned, the Cuban role, especially in Angola, was fully supported by the Black people in South Africa. They played a very positive role and thwarted the expansionist aim of South Africa.

We do not agree with the argument that the Angolans should have been left to fight their own war, that even when South Africa had occupied Angola it was for the Angolans to wage another struggle for liberation against South Africa without the aid of progressive internationalists like the Cubans. To the argument that the Angolans wouldn't cherish their freedom because they did not shed blood for it, we say that they were helped by the Cubans in a truly internationalist spirit, and they were not sitting down watching the Cubans fighting their wars for them.



By Tony Thomas
24 pp., 35 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

How much the Angolans cherish their freedom depends on their political awareness, which will enable them see that the Cubans are not just workers from another country who have an enemy common to the Angolans, but that the Cubans are their brothers in blood.

Q. What is your assessment of Soviet and Chinese policy in Africa?

A. The policy of a socialist state in the African revolution should strive to maintain links with the forces fighting against imperialism and reaction. It should assist these forces until victory is a certainty.

Of course, this it should do without expectation of economic gains, out of a sense of duty, as communist internationalists. It should also guard against taking over the prosecution of the struggle and undermining the initiative and sense of self-reliance of the struggling people.

It should therefore be unashamedly pointed out that the policies of both the USSR and China have been confusing.

The Soviet Union is assisting the fascist Mengistu Haile Mariam, who is butchering millions of Ethiopians and is trying to annihilate the Eritrean revolution, under the argument that the Dergue is not only "socialist," but also the vanguard of the Ethiopian revolution.

The Chinese are helping and proping up anti-popular and openly reactionary and U.S.-client forces and states, like the regimes in Zaire, Gabon, and Somalia, to name a few. They have an alliance with the forces of imperialism and with NATO countries. Their leaders have even got the nerve to visit the ruling clique of Iran during the upsurge of the people against the shah. This shows what type of "socialists" we have in China.

U.S. policy in Africa

Q. What do you think of the aims of American policy toward Africa, and, in particular, of the role of American corporations in South Africa?

A. If American imperialism supported the liberation struggle in Africa, then capitalism would cease to be capitalism.

Imperialism under the leadership of the U.S.A. is directly responsible for the exploitation and oppression in settler-colonial Africa and in neocolonial Black Africa. Is it not the European

and American multinationals, whom Callaghan, Schmidt, and Carter represent, who are presently robbing Africa of its oil, coffee, rubber, and mineral wealth?

These are the countries that are responsible for the finance capital that is presently producing the profits for their existence. Their military hardware comes from the raw materials derived from African soil. American imperialism could not exist without maintaining these exploitative ties with Black Africa.

The role of U.S. corporations in South Africa is, in short, to exploit the cheap labor created by the apartheid machinery and protected by the fascist apartheid state.

It is therefore a contradiction to think that these multinationals can contribute to the elimination of exploitation of the Black workers. The so-called Sullivan plan, the EEC code, and other so-called "principles"⁹ are an illusion and irrelevant to our struggle, despite what Lucy Mvubelo,¹⁰ Gatscha Buthelezi, and others would like us to believe.

We demand total withdrawal of foreign investments from our country.

Q. How can American workers aid your struggle?

A. The U.S. working class, the natural ally of our struggle, can fulfill its internationalist obligation by mobilizing, anti-Vietnam-War-style, against their government's role in our exploitation. "U.S. Out of South Africa!" should be the slogan of the day.

The fall of South African capitalism will no doubt contribute towards the struggle for socialism in the United States.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

9. The Sullivan plan (originally propounded by a Black official of the General Motors corporation) and the European Economic Community code call for cosmetic changes in the practice of foreign firms operating in South Africa, such as improvements in Black wages and job training, an end to segregated facilities in the plants, and so on. These proposals were raised by some companies as an *alternative* to the call for their total withdrawal from South Africa, and as a cover for their continued exploitation of Black labor.—IP/I

10. Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, is a prominent advocate of continued foreign investment in South Africa.—IP/I

Reminiscences of Malcolm X

Brother Malcolm, *Reminiscences of a Black Revolutionary*. Written and directed by Frank Greenwood. For information, write to: 450 West Ninetieth Street, Los Angeles, California 90003.

The strong and lasting influence of the life and ideas of Malcolm X have been written into a play so powerful that both the emotions and minds of the audience were absorbed for nearly two hours when it played in the Los Angeles Black community.

Brother Malcolm, Reminiscences of a Black Revolutionary is obviously the result of intensive research and a passionate involvement in the Black experience.

That the dramatization could be so compelling is even more remarkable in that only one performer, the astounding twenty-seven-year-old Duane Shepard, magnetizes the audience alone on the stage.

Shepard curls up on a cot and becomes the five-year-old Malcolm Little, whose house was fire

Theater

bombed by racists in Lansing, Michigan. The child appeals to firemen, who laugh while the house burns. About this time, Malcolm's father, an organizer for the Black nationalism of Marcus Garvey, was killed by racists. His body was found under a street car, almost cut in two.

Later in the play, the scholarly Malcolm X, self-educated in prison, reverts to the hustler Malcolm Little, with jive talk and swinging key chain, who cons his way out of being drafted into the army by implying he wants guns for his own purposes.

Hinton Johnson, a member of the New York Mosque, is beaten by police in 1958, clubbed to the sidewalk. Malcolm organizes protests, and 3,000 angry Harlem Blacks gather at the police station where Johnson is held, demanding his release. With swift strokes, Greenwood and Shepard put before us the power of organization.

Shepard is all over the stage and bounds from the stage to speak to individuals in the audience, answering imaginary questions. Why was he suspended from the Nation of Islam, whose membership increased five-fold when Malcolm was playing a leading role in it? "I would have given my life for Elijah Muhammad, but I believed in him more than he believed in himself," Malcolm explains.



Duane Shepard as Malcolm X

Militant/Della Rossa

"By 1963," Malcolm says, "the leadership had become prosperous and satisfied and didn't want people like me to rock the boat."

His sister Ella helps him get to Africa, where his political thinking develops toward socialism. "What the U.S. really wants is the minerals Africans have under their soil," he says. The audience applauds.

His travels put him into contact with revolutionists all over the world and he founds the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Greenwood uses the device of projecting Malcolm into the present period. Malcolm X asks from his

podium, "Who would I support in 1976, Carter or Ford?" He answers, "Both are canine, and both will eat you. Both parties are racist, and the Democrats are even more racist. Any Black who voted for Carter is a traitor to his race!" The almost all-Black audience at the Foxx Follies Theatre in the Crenshaw District applauds.

If he rejects capitalism, what political system does he support?

"I'm flexible," Malcolm says on stage. "But every system I've seen that is meaningful is going toward socialism."

This reflects what Malcolm said at a Militant Labor Forum in New York on May 29, 1964, shortly before he was killed: "It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system . . . to produce freedom right now for the Black man in this country. . . . All of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it is an accident."

"Who had me killed?" Malcolm asks from his stage podium. He indicates that those who most feared him were not those envious of him in the Nation of Islam but the racist, economically exploitive social system that he was so effectively organizing against. He calls for a thorough inquiry into his assassination—"for your sake!"

"I didn't really die when I lay on that stage with twenty-two shots in me," Malcolm says. "My influence is stronger now than ever."

"You are worse off now than before," Malcolm, projected into 1978, says, giving unemployment figures for Blacks at more than 13 percent. The audience agrees. "And you don't have a single Black militant organization. It is necessary to deal with the international power struggle. You can't understand what is going on in Mississippi unless you understand what is going on in Zimbabwe!"

"Yeah, straight out!" the audience responds.

Brother Malcolm has come after thirty years by Greenwood of acting, writing, directing, and producing about the Black experience. He was raised in Chicago and came to Los Angeles in the early 1940s.

Brother Malcolm will next go to northern California at the invitation of the University of California Black Studies Department.

And when *Brother Malcolm* gets to your area, see it. It's an experience.

—Della Rossa

'Ragged Trousered Philanthropists'

The *Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*. By Robert Tressell. New York. Monthly Review Press. 1978. 633 pages. \$7.50.

Robert Tressell's novel *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*, first published in 1914 and reprinted more than a score of times, has educated generations of English working-class militants. It was said in the 1950s that at any meeting of the

Books

working-class movement one could find at least one person who would allege that this book brought them to socialism and changed the course of their life.

Robert Tressell was the pseudonym of Robert Noonan, an Anglo-Irish house painter who died of tuberculosis at the age of forty-one in 1911, three years before his book found a publisher. His editor cut the book down to two-thirds the size of the manuscript, and a popular edition two years later cut the book even more. The original manuscript

was found only in 1955, when for the first time the full text, the text of the present edition, was published.

The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists tells of Frank Owen, a socialist house painter, and the men working with him. We get a graphic picture of the lives of building-trades workers in the provincial British city of the time: the constant hounding of the foreman, the speedup, the frequent layoffs, the semistarvation, the competition for jobs.

But *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* gives us much more than this. Tressell sees with exceptional clarity the insanity of the capitalist system, with the dictates of profit bringing unemployment instead of the leisure and a higher standard of living that technology makes possible. His vision is expressed in a savage satire of the ruthlessness and greed of the capitalists and the hypocrisy of the representatives of organized religion who are their apologists.

It is also expressed in the bitter humor with which he presents the workers responding to Owen's socialist arguments by voicing the prejudices and clichés with which they have been imbued. They are the philanthropists of the title, permitting themselves to be robbed of the fruits of their toil by the capitalists.

Owen's arguments are models of lucid exposition. They are not, however, mere preachments directed at the reader. They have the dramatic quality of exchanges in which Owen struggles to present his ideas as clearly as possible and each of his fellow-workers responds in his own individual manner.

Although workers today are much less submissive than Owen's fellow-workers, the responses that Owen's fellow-workers make—that foreigners and

women take away jobs, that protectionism helps workers keep jobs, that things have always been the same and will always be the same, that you might as well vote for either a Tory or a Liberal since only these two parties stand a chance of winning—are still prevalent among many. (The last one, to be sure, in the United States rather than in England, where the Labour Party is now one of the two main parties.) The clash of ideas in the novel therefore retains its interest.

The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists, it should be said, has some weaknesses. As it goes on, it becomes repetitive, and many of its later chapters do not have the bite of the earlier ones.

I am rather inclined to believe that the shortened edition of 1914, contrary to general critical opinion, is the superior version. Tressell's full text, unlike this edition, has an optimistic ending. Owen and his destitute family are able to survive by reason of a gift from a well-to-do socialist, with Owen looking forward to the socialism of the glorious future.

In the edition of 1914 the editor gave as the conclusion a passage in the middle of the manuscript in which Owen, knowing that he is dying of tuberculosis, thinks of killing himself and his family to spare them the misery they will face after his death. The well-to-do socialist seems to me a rather artificial device, and the 1914 editor's conclusion is perhaps more in keeping with the general tone of the novel. Owen then becomes a tragic pioneer of socialism.

Be that as it may, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*, whatever its weaknesses and in whatever version it appears, remains a powerful socialist classic. It is good that it is now available to Americans.

—Paul Siegel

Quote unquote

"We're not falling for this recession balderdash."

—Commerce Department official William Cox predicting a profit increase of 17 percent in 1979.

KILLER COPS

Robert Torsney, a New York City cop who shot and killed an unarmed Black youth, will not be released from a state mental hospital, following a decision by the state appellate court February 5.

Torsney claimed he had a rare form of epilepsy that caused him to fire the shot that killed fifteen-year-old Randolph Evans on Thanksgiving Day, 1976. He was sent to a state mental hospital for observation and treatment.

After less than a year, the state recommended freeing him. A judge agreed, declaring that Torsney "was not suffering from mental illness during the entire period" he was in state custody.

The decision evoked an angry response from the Black community. Under this pressure, Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold asked a higher court to overturn the decision to free Torsney.

Meanwhile, a New York Transit Authority cop shot and killed a seventeen-year-old woman bystander while he was pursuing someone who allegedly failed to pay before entering the subway.

Transit Police Chief Sanford Garelik said Officer Patrick Townsend had exercised "proper judgment."

BLACKS SET TUPELO PROTEST

About 100 leading activists in the United League of Mississippi gathered in Tupelo February 2-4 in one of several meetings held to prepare for a state conference in early March.

Representing league chapters in twenty-one counties, the weekend meeting voted to continue the boycott of downtown

businesses in Tupelo.

The Tupelo meeting also approved proposals for a local demonstration March 10 in Tupelo and another on March 17 in Lexington, forty-five miles west of Jackson. Supporters from across the country are being urged to attend.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, United League spokesperson Skip Robinson

said that the Tupelo city administration has already been forced to meet a number of the league's demands, including the firing of two city cops guilty of brutally beating a Black youth, Eugene Pasaco.

In addition, according to Robinson, the city has instituted an affirmative-action hiring program and taken steps to integrate teaching staffs in the

schools.

Furthermore, the successful boycott has forced industry in the area to begin hiring more Blacks.

Robinson and other league leaders are currently speaking across the country to build support for the Mississippi struggle.

LOWER UNEMPLOYMENT, THE EASY WAY

With unemployment stuck at an official level of nearly 6 percent and no prospect of going lower, apologists for cap-

italism have been working overtime to convince us this amounts to "full employment."

Government statisticians want to make the figures look better. So instead of putting the jobless to work, they propose to exclude more of them from the count.

A congressional study commission was assigned the task of "revising" the figures, but it's had trouble coming up with a formula it could sell the public.

The commission is considering raising the minimum age for unemployment from sixteen to eighteen. That would make the 40 percent jobless rate among Black youth a lot less visible. And by including military personnel—all of whom obviously have jobs—in the labor force, the official unemployment rate could be shaved a bit.

To camouflage these moves, the commission might start counting as unemployed some 200,000 out of the 900,000 "discouraged" workers—those who have given up looking because they know they can't find jobs.

GAY RIGHTS BILL PASSES IN DETROIT

A law banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in the areas of employment, medical care, rentals, real estate purchases, and public accommodations passed the Detroit City Council by an eight-to-one vote January 24. The bill also gives the city human rights department strong enforcement powers.

The bill was opposed by Democratic Mayor Coleman Young, who sought to substitute a far weaker version. Young said strong enforcement measures would mislead the public because the human rights department just suffered a one-third cut in staff.

Meanwhile, in New York City, 100 supporters of gay and lesbian rights picketed the home of city council majority leader Thomas Cuite January 20.

Cuite, a Democrat, has repeatedly used his power to block passage of a gay rights bill.

The Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, which organized the picket, said it plans future, similar actions at the homes of other gay rights opponents. CLGR labeled Cuite "bigot of the month."

Gov't caves in on strip-mining rules

The Interior Department, charged with regulating strip mining, has backed away from rules it issued last September. The department's proposals were attacked by the White House as "too costly" and "inflationary."

Among the rules dropped by the Interior Department: making existing mines conform to new regulations. If this had gone into effect, the Energy Department said, coal production would have

been cut by one-sixth—which gives a good idea of how widespread the problem is.

Companies won't have to post bonds to ensure that cleanup costs are met—because private bonding companies aren't willing to assume the risk! Instead of requiring strict water-pollution control, the rules now put the burden on pollution victims to prove that nearby streams will be damaged.

In addition, private citi-

zens will not have the right to inspect mines, except the ones on federal land.

Strip mining has taken an enormous human and environmental toll in Appalachia and other parts of the country. Strip-mined areas are usually left devoid of vegetation, and the land is subject to deadly flash floods.

The federal strip-mine law was passed in 1977, but even these watered-down rules to implement it won't go into effect for another year.



Strip mining makes vast areas desolate

Militant/Howard Petrick

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

GRAND OPENING OF NEW SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Sun., Feb. 18, 12 noon to 9 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: S.E. ART AND SOCIAL STRUGGLE. Speaker: Evelyn Sell, socialist writer. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

WHAT'S BEHIND THE VIETNAMESE INVASION OF CAMBODIA? Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, staff writer for the 'Militant,' Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. (Kenmore Sq.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN ANN ARBOR

BENEFIT FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN. Mexican music, poetry, and song. Tues., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. The Ark, 1421 Hill St. Donation. Ausp: Ann Arbor Committee for Human Rights in Latin America; Young Socialist Alliance; LS&A Student Government; Michigan Student Assembly.

MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

SPORTS IN AMERICA: A RADICAL VIEW. Speaker: Gary Prevost, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

ST. PAUL

THE VIETNAMESE INVASION OF CAMBODIA. Speaker: Ralph Schwartz, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

MALCOLM X: HIS LIFE, IDEAS & AS-

SASSINATION. Speakers: K.A. Aziz, Nation of Islam; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW YORK

CAPITAL DISTRICT-ALBANY STOP NUCLEAR POWER AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS—HOW WE CAN DO IT. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of 'Out Now!' and member of Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH GRAND OPENING OF NEW SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$2.50, refreshments. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

CHINA: MAO'S LEGACY. Speaker: Ed Pettley, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

Iran forums

KANSAS CITY, MO.

REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speaker: Frank Michaels, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

MESABI IRON RANGE, MINN.

UPSURGE IN IRAN: A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Stacey Seigle, Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. Mesabi College, Room 176, Virginia. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

GENERALS SET STAGE FOR SHOWDOWN IN IRAN. Speaker: Jay Fisher, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 11, 7 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speaker: Stacey Seigle, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

CHICANO STUDENTS SET CONFERENCE

Chicano students from twenty-five campuses throughout Texas are planning a three-day state conference to be held at the University of Texas in Austin February 23-25.

The conference is the result of more than six months of effort by activists in the San Antonio, Houston, and Dallas areas.

Conceived of as a statewide forum on issues of concern to Chicanos, the conference will include workshop sessions on a wide variety of topics, such as immigration, affirmative action, and Chicanas.

Conference organizers expect that significant steps will be taken toward formation of a statewide Chicano student organization.

In addition, various plans of action and resolutions will be discussed and voted on at the conference.

Keynote speakers for the con-



600 hit Nicaragua tyranny



Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Vargas

Six hundred people picketed the Nicaraguan consulate in midtown Manhattan February 3 to denounce the brutal Somoza dictatorship and to oppose the phony U.S. plebiscite proposal, which would legitimize continued rule by the Somoza family. The protest was sponsored by the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua and a broad array of political and community organizations.

ference include Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez and Rubén Bonilla, Texas League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) director.

For more information, call Sabino Mata at (512) 385-3505, or write Tejas Chicano Student Committee, c/o Student Activities Center, Texas Union 4300, Austin, Texas 78712.

100 YEARS TOO LATE

The state of Pennsylvania pardoned John Kehoe January 16—100 years after he was hanged for a murder he didn't commit. Kehoe was a militant coal miner who fought against the starvation wages forced upon miners during the depression of the late 1870s.

For his efforts, he was branded a member of the "Molly Maguires," supposedly a band of terrorists who murdered mine officials.

No such organization existed, but eleven miners were hanged after frame-up trials run by the coal companies.

DENIED MEDICINE, PRISONER DIES

Donald Ferguson died after two days in a Fairfax County, Virginia, padded cell. Ferguson, a Black construction worker, had been arrested for failure to pay a fifty-dollar fine. Suffering from alcohol withdrawal, he was shackled and lay for two days in the filthy cell.

Jail authorities failed to give

Ferguson a prescribed vitamin injection. They couldn't say whether he had received any food or water.

Ferguson was the third prisoner to die in the jail in six months. "Going through the door of my jail is not a ticket to eternal life," said Sheriff James Swinson, who complains that the death has been "blown out of proportion."

\$720 A LIFE

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has slapped a \$720 fine on Universal Studios following the death of an actor on a company set last year.

Richard Kelton was asphyxiated by the heating unit in his dressing room.

The maximum penalty would have been \$1,000.

"It is not meant to be a fine," OSHA Regional Director William Corrigan said. "It is simply a penalty which is designed to be an 'attention getter.'"

VETS SUE DEFOLIANT MAKERS

Six manufacturers of chemical defoliants were sued February 1 on behalf of more than 4 million Vietnam veterans who were exposed to the deadly substances. The defoliants contain cancer-causing chemicals.

The class-action suit is based on one filed by Paul Reuter-shan, a Vietnam vet who contracted cancer and died in December.

Set Calif. antinuke actions

By John Barzman

LOS ANGELES—A conference attended by 600 people here January 27-28 voted to organize protest actions against the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant April 7.

Plans are set for simultaneous rallies in Los Angeles and San Francisco, to be followed by a rally at the plant in San Luis Obispo.

The decision was the climax of "Southern California No-Nukes Weekend," sponsored by the Alliance for Survival.

Appearing at a January

27 rally were Daniel Ellsberg, Dr. Helen Caldicott, and singer Peter Yarrow. Ellsberg brought cheers from the crowd when he hailed the power shown by Iranian oil workers.

On January 26, an antinuke benefit by singers Graham Nash and Jackson Browne drew 18,000 people.

The conference also voted to hold antinuke protests June 2, as part of the International Days of Protest, and August 6, in commemoration of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945.

A good American cop—"I'm an innocent man, and this is still America," declared former Houston Police Chief Carrol Lynn on being sentenced to twelve years for extortion. The good chief, who had headed a "reform" administration, had been picked up outside the home of a Houston oil exec with \$25,000 in marked bills in his pocket.

Sound logical to you?—Geologists say they have found an earthquake fault running the entire length of a dam that supplies half the water in California. An official opined that if an earthquake did cause the dam to bust, "it would not represent a serious flood danger." But, he conceded, "it could seriously disrupt the water supply to a large area of the state."

Including, some day, women?—Church officials brushed aside parent complaints about the principal of a Rhode Island Catholic school who has the children concluding the Pledge of Allegiance with the words, "With liberty and justice for all—born and unborn."

But it's the American Way—Ford stockholders are unhappy about Henry II's swindle sheet. They complain he uses company planes to transport personal champagne, caviar, and his mother's dogs. And they point to a \$2.7 million winding staircase he installed from his private dining room to his afternoon doze suite at Ford HQ. Do they want him to climb a ladder?

Losers only—Atlantic City casinos joined their Las Vegas and Reno counterparts in barring known "counters" from their blackjack tables. Counters are people who know the game well enough to win.

Preservationists—Industrialist Willard Rockwell sold a 3,500-acre Pennsylvania retreat to Mellon heiress Cordelia May. Rockwell had permitted some ordinary people to enter the hunting area—stocked with quail, pheasant, elk, and rare bighorn sheep—for a fee, natch. This will be discontinued, a representative said, explaining that "in a sense" the area is being reserved for the public, since it won't be "desecrated by housing development."

Union Talk

Pollution vs. auto jobs?

This week's column is by Bill Arth, a member of United Auto Workers Local 140 at Dodge Truck in Detroit.

DETROIT—Working at Chrysler means never knowing if you have a job the next day.

In December the bosses announced a new round of layoffs to cut last quarter's \$158.5-million loss. And they've threatened more cutbacks.

Their excuse this time is Chrysler's alleged inability to meet the government's fuel economy and exhaust emission standards.

Sacrifice your jobs or your environment—this is the choice we are given.

Recent studies commissioned by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration have backed up Chrysler's blackmail. Increased government regulation of the auto industry, they conclude, may well drive financially ailing Chrysler and American Motors out of business.

The problem these studies point to is that fuel and emission regulations will require the development of new technology and the retooling of plants—in other words, capital investment. And any demand for capital expenditures will put a disproportionate bite on Chrysler and American while benefiting General Motors and Ford.

We've heard all this before in Detroit. Last July, Chrysler succeeded in talking the Federal Traffic Safety Administration into revising its 1980-81 standards for light trucks by threatening to scrap plans for a \$50 million renovation of its Jefferson Assembly plant.

Mayor Coleman Young, the NAACP, and community leaders all lined up with Chrysler to "save jobs." Having pulled off this coup, Chrysler turned around and laid off workers in suburban Warren and across the river in Windsor, Ontario, in order to transfer production to Jefferson.

The auto industry likes to claim that the decline of Chrysler and American is due to government interference with the free operation of the market. The truth is that it is exactly the so-called free enterprise system that is driving these companies under.

Chrysler is no poor little family business, but one of the ten largest corpora-

tions in the United States. But its plants are the oldest and least efficient in the industry; some date back to the turn of the century. Because Chrysler lags behind GM and Ford in plant modernization, and therefore productivity, its rate of profit is lower.

So, less capital is generated for investment and Chrysler has to borrow to keep afloat—currently to the tune of \$1.27 billion. Any sharp drop in sales ties up cash and threatens the company's ability to pay its creditors. The problems faced by American are similar, but on a smaller scale.

Government regulation is not causing Chrysler's crisis. It just reinforces the market's inherent tendency toward monopoly.

Does this mean auto workers should oppose environmental standards to protect our jobs?

This approach leads to a dead end. Chrysler has announced plans to spend \$5-7 billion in the next few years on plant renovation through capital raised in sales of its stocks and assets in 1978. But this planned spending is not earmarked for meeting government standards, says Lee Iacocca, Chrysler's new president:

"What we've got to do is what this whole country has to do: We have to get more productive. . . . Build more cars per man hour. . . . That's what it's all about."

Cutting jobs through speedup and automation—that's what it's all about for Chrysler and the rest of the industry.

Some Chrysler money will go to dealing with government standards, the NHTSA study reveals. "Lobbying [against the standards] is the most cost-efficient approach . . . for this financially troubled firm." In other words, it's cheaper to buy off a few government officials than to protect the environment.

Well, auto workers want jobs and clean air to breathe. If Chrysler, American, Ford, or GM plead poverty, let them open their books for the United Auto Workers' inspection. Then we can determine how much environmental standards will really cost. If cars that meet our needs can't be produced profitably, then let's sacrifice their profits and not our national resources.

Joe Hansen on China

The diplomatic moves that culminated in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit to the United States began more than seven years ago. On July 15, 1971, Richard Nixon went on nationwide television to announce that Henry Kissinger, his top foreign policy adviser, had met secretly with Chou En-lai in Peking and that Nixon himself would travel to China shortly.

Most of the world was stunned by the announcement, seeing it as a dramatic turnabout.

One of the few people who had long foreseen this turn was Joseph Hansen, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International, who died last month. Hansen had called attention as far back as 1968 to Mao's bid for 'peaceful coexistence' with the incoming Nixon administration.

The following is excerpted from part of a report Hansen gave on the international situation to the August 1971 SWP convention, right after Kissinger's trip.

I now come to what rates as the most spectacular consequence of the Vietnam war up to now. This is the abrupt change in relations between Washington and Peking.

First of all, Nixon's de facto recognition of the existence of the People's Republic of China, which will certainly be followed at a certain point by formal recognition, constitutes acknowledgment of an alteration in the world balance of power. U.S. imperialism, as I have already indicated, is relatively weaker than it was six years ago when Johnson began the escalation in Vietnam.

Kissinger's trip to Peking constitutes an admission of the military defeat suffered by the U.S. armed forces in Vietnam and of the hope that Mao, at the last minute, will be able to intervene in behalf of the U.S., and, through the miraculous workings of Mao Tsetung Thought, save something in Indochina that can be used by Nixon in his 1972 campaign for reelection.

Kissinger's trip also constitutes an admission that the People's Republic of China has emerged as a major world power. Thanks to the victory of the Chinese revolution, to the toppling of capitalism in China, and to the power of the planned economy, the Chinese people have been able to lift themselves out of destitution and famine.

The capitalist showcase of India, by way of contrast, continues to stagnate at the level it shared with the China of Chiang Kai-shek.

The fact that U.S. imperialism has finally been compelled to recognize the existence of China can only be a source of satisfaction for revolutionists everywhere.

It signifies a major defeat for a policy followed by U.S. imperialism since the end of World War II, that is, of seeking to make things as difficult as possible for the Chinese people by backing their bitterest enemy Chiang Kai-shek and by subjecting them to an economic and diplomatic blockade.

U.S. recognition makes possible some new substantial gains for China both economically and diplomatically.

Nonetheless, the circumstances in the thaw of relations between Washington and Peking indicate that both sides have counterrevolutionary objectives in mind. This is the reason for the secret diplomacy.

Nixon wants Mao to bring counterrevolutionary pressure to bear on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

Besides this, Nixon has something else in mind—the possibility of taking better advantage of the Sino-Soviet conflict. One of the arguments made for years by spokesmen of the wing of the American ruling class that has favored recognizing China is that this would open up opportunities to play Peking against Moscow, and Moscow against Peking.

Another objective that ought to be mentioned is the possibility of China becoming a new and profitable market for American commodities.

Those most stunned and shocked by Mao's invitation to Nixon were without question the sincere followers of Mao Tsetung Thought.

The basic methodological error made by revolutionists who either followed Peking unquestioningly or who were influenced to one degree or another by Peking's diplomacy and ultraleft posture was to identify the Chinese revolution with the Maoist regime either wholly or partially.

The truth is that a parasitic caste rules China. Its interests clash with those of the revolution. The interests of the caste are narrowly nationalistic while those of the revolution are internationalist. The ruling caste of bureaucrats in China is similar to the one in the Soviet Union although it has its own special features.

Whoever understood this could hardly feel surprise at either the White House's decision to turn to Mao or Mao's ready acceptance of the turn. In fact it was possible to predict the rapprochement some years ago.

The fundamental social forces involved—the ruling bureaucracy in China and the ruling class in the United States—had a mutual interest in achieving it. Their mutual interest was to impede new advances by the world revolution, both inside China and inside the United States, and quite a few places in between.

Letters

Defend abortion rights!

There was a very successful picket line on January 20 at the state capitol in Albany to commemorate the 1973 Supreme Court decision giving women the right to have abortions.

Eighty people attended the picket line and rally in the snowy weather. Sponsors included the National Abortion Rights Action League, Family Planning Advocates, Planned Parenthood, Feminist Alliance, Student Association, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Albany National Organization for Women, Schenectady Alliance for Reproductive Freedom (SARF), Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

SARF is now involved in a struggle in which the Right to Life forces are trying to block the construction of a Planned Parenthood abortion clinic. This clinic has been approved by the state, and funds have been allocated for its construction. The Right to Life forces are demanding that the Schenectady City Council revoke the zoning permit of Planned Parenthood, which would halt the project.

In this struggle, 170 signatures were obtained at the local Union College in support of the proposed clinic.

Pat Mayberry
Albany, New York

On Saturday January 20 a pro-abortion rally and picket took place at the University of California at Berkeley. This action was held in response to a convention of a campus group, Students United for Life.

A skit depicting an all-male committee denying women abortions was performed. Several women spoke about the need for actions to protect abortion funding for poor women. (The California State legislature has voted to deny abortion funding, although this is still pending a court decision on the

constitutionality of denying abortions to poor women.)

One speaker pointed out that many poor women are being forced to "choose" sterilization in exchange for an abortion.

Approximately 300 protesters voiced their objections with chants such as: "Free abortion on demand," and "Not the church, not the state; women should decide their fate."

The groups that supported this action were the Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights, Campus Task Force of the National Organization for Women, Young Socialist Alliance, and Berkeley Feminist Alliance.

A reader
Berkeley, California

The San Francisco National Organization for Women and other groups held a speak-out on the issue of reproductive freedom on January 22. About 220 people attended the evening event held at a local hospital.

A number of speakers addressed aspects of the fight to win back and extend women's rights.

Patty Roberts, a lawyer for the Women's Litigation Unit, stated that an active, visible women's movement forced the government to legalize abortion in 1973. She is one of the lawyers involved in a court case challenging California's cutbacks on funds for abortion.

Flora Stuart, an attorney, was the keynote speaker. She spoke on the case of Marla Pitchford, a Kentucky woman who was charged with manslaughter after resorting to a self-induced abortion when legal, safe abortion was denied her. Stuart, who had defended Pitchford in court, pointed out that though Pitchford's acquittal was important, no other woman should have to go through such an ordeal. A rally of 250 pro-abortion rights supporters was held earlier in the day.

Linda Ray
San Francisco, California

'Abortion is murder'

Abortion means the murder of a living human. Fetus, like adult, is a word that describes a stage of development for the living human.

The days of cook, keep house, mothering are over, but let us not look to death as a means of allowing a sister to feel unburdened about her sex.

I'm not the happiest man alive when I think of some of the persons against abortion. I'm also not the happiest man alive when some yell bloody murder when the court says a child has rights. Yet, your

paper does not point out that "Right to Lifers" only state that we humans should never let death become an answer per se.

I don't say that no fetus killings should ever be done. I do say that in our present-day society, abortion will become the first step in answering many social ills with death. The right I have to tell women no to abortion is the same right I had to tell racists no to segregation. Death is not a human answer for human problems.

A prisoner
New York

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Learning About Socialism

How do socialists view the UN?

How do socialists view the United Nations? asks Edwin Sperling of Brooklyn.

"Should working masses be more or less suspicious or even hostile to it? Does it have any progressive aspects? I would like to read a historical analysis of this body's function."

"United Nations" was the name adopted on January 1, 1942, by the wartime alliance led by the U.S., British, and Soviet governments. In October 1943 the foreign ministers of these governments, along with a representative of Chiang Kai-shek's regime in China, agreed that after the war "united action . . . will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security."

However, rhetoric about peace did nothing to change the real objectives of the powers involved. Britain and France were determined to hold on to their colonial empires. While they talked about "peace" in the United Nations, the French carried out colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria, while the British fought to contain anti-imperialist upsurges in India, Kenya, Malaya, Aden, and other countries.

Washington, for its part, backed the colonial wars of its allies, while preparing to take their place after the fighting was over.

Instead of opposing the imperialist aggressors and calling for them to withdraw from their colonies, the United Nations opposed the revolutions sweeping the colonial world. The U.S. invasion of Korea was carried out under the UN flag, while UN "peacekeeping" forces in the Congo helped to destroy the anti-imperialist upsurge there in the early 1960s. Most of the countries that are currently members of the United Nations, however, are former colonies that have won independence since the UN was formed. Has the character of the organization changed now that semicolonial countries and workers states make up the majority of the UN General Assembly?

It is true that the General Assembly has served on certain occasions as a forum in which crimes of the imperialist powers have been denounced and exposed. The appearance of Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization; the resolutions citing the colonial status of Puerto Rico; and the denunciation of the Bay of Pigs invasion by the Cuban revolutionary government are all examples of this.

But only the Security Council can take *action*. And the Security Council is dominated by its five permanent members, each with veto power over its decisions.

Who controls the United Nations has become especially clear in regard to South Africa. Repeated resolutions against the apartheid regime have been passed with massive majorities in the General Assembly. But such resolutions have never resulted in any more than token action

because of the veto power of Britain, France, and the United States.

In fact, because of the UN's more independent image, the imperialists have been able to use it as a more effective tool in situations in the Middle East and southern Africa where direct imperialist initiatives were not opportune.

In short, the United Nations remains dominated by the same imperialist powers that are the greatest threat to world peace.

Agreements between such governments have never led to peace and never will. The drive for profits forces the imperialist powers into an endless search for markets, sources of cheap raw materials, and arenas for profitable investment. The need to maintain and expand these holdings leads to continual aggression against the colonial and semicolonial countries, and to assaults against the workers states, whose very existence challenges the capitalist order. A prime example was the Vietnam War.

Why haven't such conflicts torn the UN apart?

Most of the governments of former colonial countries represented in the UN are capitalist. While they may have taken actions aimed at establishing a degree of independence for their own native capitalists, they are still dominated economically by imperialism. They defend the interests of world imperialism and the native capitalist class against the workers and peasants.

That is why these governments inevitably go along with solutions that uphold basic imperialist interests—whether in South Africa or Indochina—even though they may use UN General Assembly sessions for anti-imperialist speeches that win popular support at home.

If the United Nations didn't serve imperialist interests, the imperialist powers would split it wide open and withdraw their financial support. The UN allows the imperialist powers and their satellites to pose before their people as well-intentioned seekers of peace. The myth of the United Nations as an instrument for peace is part of the ideological structure that helps maintain capitalist rule.

The bureaucracies that rule the workers states in Moscow and Peking lend their support to the United Nations and uphold the myths about its role. They have the power to expose its real nature and thus stymie its effectiveness as a pro-imperialist force. But to do so would cut across their desire to trade political support to capitalist regimes for economic and diplomatic deals.

Their policy stands in sharp contrast to the policy followed by the Bolsheviks toward the League of Nations, an earlier instrument of imperialist "peacemaking" that came into being after World War I and died with the approach of World War II.

Lenin characterized it as "a den of thieves."

—David Frankel

Cuba forum

On January 26, fifty-five people came to the Miami Militant Forum to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

The speakers, Jack Lieberman and Marilyn Marcus of the Socialist Workers Party, had just returned from a trip to Cuba. There they attended the twentieth anniversary parade; met and interviewed many Cuban workers; and toured housing, day-care, and hospital facilities.

They presented a slide show, and a lively discussion followed. Arrangements are now being made to present the slide show at schools and for community groups in the area. *William Rayson*
Miami, Florida

Crimean activist in U.S.

Crimean Tatar activist Aishe Seitmuratova has emigrated from the Soviet Union and arrived in New York January 25.

She was twice arrested by the Kremlin rulers for her activities in defense of the right of Crimean Tatars to live in Crimea and served a three-year term from 1971-1974. Following her release from prison camp, she was under constant police surveillance. In September 1976, she was forcibly deported from Crimea, where she had gone to live.

Following her arrest in 1971, she was expelled from the Institute of History of the Uzbek Republic's Academy of Sciences for "unstable moral-political conduct."

She was only three months short of completing her studies. Her repeated requests to authorities since her release that she be rehabilitated and allowed to complete her degree have been denied because of her continued commitment to the Crimean Tatar struggle. Upon arriving in New York, she stated she emigrated because she had become convinced it was impossible to obtain any rights in the USSR. The only democratic right Aishe was granted—the right to emigrate—came after a prolonged battle. Her greatest desire, she said, is to let humanity know about the severe persecution of Crimean Tatars by the Kremlin rulers.

She is a close friend of Mustafa Dzhemilev. Dzhemilev, she reported, is constantly hounded by the police, who specially detained him just when she was leaving. *Marilyn Vogt*
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, P.O. Box M218. Zip: 46401.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles

St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Clason Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, Odd Fellows Building, Rm. 209, 19 West Hargett St. Zip: 27601. Tel: (919) 833-9440.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati:

SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19138. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, The Evergreen State College Library, Rm 3208. Zip: 98505. Tel: (206) 943-3089. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Tractors roll through D.C.

Working farmers demand action from Carter

By Osborne Hart

WASHINGTON—*Dump Carter! Parity, not Charity!* These slogans adorned the 2,000 tractors that clogged major thoroughfares leading into this city February 5.

Farmers from across the United States had reached their final destination after weeks on the road. The national tractorcade was called by the American Agriculture Movement (AAM).

Demonstrators came from as far west as California and Oregon, and as far south as Alabama and Georgia, to demand action from the Carter administration to protect their living standards from the ravages of rising production costs. Some farmers were sponsored by a hundred or more others who had been unable to afford the trip. Many who did come say they intend to stay until their demands are met.

The farmers had camped in Virginia and Maryland last night. The next morning at four o'clock, their tractors—going little more than fifteen miles per hour—began rolling toward the U.S. Capitol. Using four major commuter routes, the farmers jammed traffic during the rush hour. Once inside the city, the tractors blocked Pennsylvania Avenue and the entrance to the Department of Agriculture.

Washington police moved in to break up the blockade. The cops seriously injured several farmers. One protester was tear-gassed and hospitalized in critical condition. Cops arrested more than a dozen farmers.

In the early afternoon, the farmers parked their tractors and joined hundreds of their supporters for a rally on the Capitol steps. By then, the crowd had swelled to nearly 3,000.

Alvin Jenkins, a founder of the AAM from Colorado, compared the farmers' determination to that of the people of Iran.

Joseph Lowery, the Black civil rights leader who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was introduced as representing "an organization that began the protest movement." Speaking about the common interests of Blacks, the poor, and working farmers, Lowery said, "The common thread of human need ties us together."

Referring to the plight of city



Nearly 3,000 farmers and their supporters rally at Capitol steps

Militant/Osborne Hart

dwellers and the unemployed, Lowery added, "You can't solve the problems of the city without solving the problems of the farmers."

Throughout the cross-country tractorcade, farmers received support from Black leaders, unionists, and consumer groups. At various support rallies along the way, there were speakers from state AFL-CIOs and other unions—including those representing grocery workers, such as the Retail Clerks, and Meat Cutters unions.

This labor solidarity, only in its initial stages right now, reflects a growing awareness of the common political and economic interests of working farmers and industrial workers. Last winter, groups of AAM farmers provided food for striking coal miners, and the AAM spoke out against the antilabor "right to work" initiative in Missouri last fall.

The AAM is a loosely knit organization of working farmers. Founded in 1977, it has already mobilized thousands of protests to build mass support for farmers' demands. In December 1977, it called a strike and tractorcade on Washington.

This year's tractorcade was several times larger than the previous demonstration.

The AAM's main demand is for 100 percent parity. Parity is a concept that compares farmers' current production costs and revenues to those of the years 1910-14—a period considered relatively prosperous for American farmers. The difference—or parity—between the prosperous and the depressed periods is returned to the farmer through government subsidy. Farmers view parity as a way to combat inflation and rising indebtedness.

Even with full parity, however, it would be difficult for working farmers to meet their expenses. Farm prices have not kept pace with the cost of machinery, land mortgage, and seed. Many farmers must now supplement their incomes by seeking other employment. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, 40 percent of the net income of farmers was earned off the farm in 1977.

The main demand of the AAM demonstration here in Washington was

implementation by Carter of the 1977 Farm Bill, which would guarantee 90 percent parity. The White House and Department of Agriculture, however, claim that this would raise food prices. So they have refused to put the law into effect.

But high food prices are not caused by the working farmers. They are caused by the big food monopolies and agribusiness. Even Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland has admitted

that food costs have increased at the processing and merchandising levels—not because of farm prices.

The second national tractorcade has again put a spotlight on the worsening conditions of the working farmer. The farmers, like the miners last year, are setting an example of how to fight back.

They deserve the support of all working people.

Black farmers speak out



Production costs are driving farmers deep into debt

Militant/Osborne Hart

WASHINGTON—A number of Black farmers from Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia attended the AAM demonstration.

I asked a group from Virginia how they are making it. "Some of us have to take other jobs in order to live, because the farm is not paying off like it used to," they explained.

A young farmer said, "I work in a cigarette factory, trying to make ends meet." He belongs to a union there.

Some said they work eight hours on a wage-paying job, then return to the farm to work eight more. "All the young guys that are into farming are working two jobs—some are

working three," said the youngest of the group.

Many young farmers are college educated and Vietnam veterans. In the Virginia group, for example, there was one vet.

The farmers explained that they face enormous costs and are swamped by debts.

"I have \$250,000 invested in equipment," an older farmer told me. "A combine costs more than a house. That's a lot of money, man."

The price of tractors and fuel increases every year, he explained. The wholesale price of corn and other grains, however, have remained the same for almost forty years.

—O.H.



Militant/Osborne Hart

Food monopolies and agribusiness—not farmers—are responsible for rising food prices.